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LETTERS OF MRS. EVELYN.

WITH HER CHARACTER,

BY DR. BOHUN;

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS HAND-WRITING.

CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN.

BY DR. BOHUN.¹

I HAD lately occasion to review several letters to me from Mrs. Evelyn of Deptford. After reading them, I found they were much to be valued, because they contained not only a complete description of the private events in the family, but public transactions of the times, where are many curious and memorable things described in an easy and eloquent style.

Many forgotten circumstances by this means are recalled afresh to my memory ; by so full and perfect a narration of them, they are again present to my thoughts, and I see them re-acted as it were before my eyes. This made strong impressions on my mind, so that I could not rest till I had recollected the substance of them, and from thence some general reflections thereon, and from thence drew a character of their author, so far only as by plain and natural inferences may be gathered from their contents. This was not performed in a manner worthy of the design, but hastily and incorrectly, which cost no more time than could be employed at one sitting in an afternoon ; but in

¹ The Rev. Dr. Ralph Bohun, D.C.L., was a scholar at Winchester College, and was elected probationary fellow of New College, Oxford, at the early age of 19. In 1671 he wrote a Discourse on the History and Nature of Wind ; and in 1685, he completed his Doctor's degree. His connection with Evelyn's family arose from his having superintended the education of his son.

this short model, Mrs. Evelyn will appear to be the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life. The historical account of matters of fact sufficiently set forth her praises, wherein there could be no error or self-conceit; and declare her to be an exact pattern of many excellent virtues; but they are concealed in such modest expressions, that the most envious censurers can't fix upon her the least suspicion of vanity or pride. Though she had many advantages of birth and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity, and compassion to those that had obliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unless it were a grateful acknowledgment of some friendly office; a vein of good-nature and resignation, and self-denial, runs through them all. There's nothing so despised in many of these letters as the fruitless and empty vanities of the town; and they seem to pity the misfortunes of those who are condemned by their greater quality or stations to squander away their precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits and conversations. Where there happens to be any mention of children or friends, there is such an air of sincerity and benevolence for the one, and religious concern for the happiness of the other, as if she had no other design to live in the world than to perform her own duty, and promote the welfare of her relations and acquaintance.

There's another observation to be collected, not less remarkable than the rest, which is her indefatigable industry in employing herself, and more for the sake of others than her own: This she wrote, not out of vain glory, or to procure commendation, but to entertain them with whom she had a familiar correspondence by letters, with the relation of such accidents or business wherein she was engaged for the month or the week past.

This was a peculiar felicity in her way of writing, that though she often treated of vulgar and domestic subjects, she never suffered her style to languish or flag, but by some new remark or pleasant digression kept it up to its usual pitch.

The reproofs in any of these numerous letters were so

softly insinuated, that the greatest punishment to be inflicted upon any disobligation was only to have the contrary virtue to the fault they had been guilty of, highly applauded in the next correspondence, which was ever so managed as to please and improve.

Scarce an harsh expression, much less any evil surmise or suspicion, could be admitted where every line was devoted to charity and goodness. This is no effect of partiality, but appears in the particular instances, so that the same judgment must be made by all unprejudiced persons who shall have a sight of them.

Any misfortune or disappointment was not mournfully lamented, but related in such a manner as became a mind that had laid in a sufficient provision of courage and patience beforehand to support it under afflictions. All unfortunate accidents are allayed by some consolatory argument taken from solid principles. No kind of trouble, but one, seems to interrupt the constant intention to entertain and oblige; but that is dolorously represented in many of the letters; which is the loss of children or friends. That being an irreparable separation in this world, is deplored with the most affectionate tenderness which words can express. You may conclude that they who write in such a manner as this, must be supposed to have a just sense of religion, because there can scarce be assigned one act of a beneficent and charitable temper but has many texts of the Gospel to enforce it. So that all good Christians must be very useful and excellent neighbours and friends; which made this lady ever esteemed so. She was the delight of all the conversations where she appeared, she was loved and admired, yet never envied by any, not so much as by the women, who seldom allow the perfections of their own sex, lest they eclipse their own; but as this very manifestly and upon all occasions was her temper, the world was very grateful to her upon that account. This happiness was gained and preserved by one wise qualification; for though no person living had a closer insight into the humours or characters of persons, or could distinguish their merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflections: her great discernment and wit were never abused to sully the reputation of others, nor affected any applause that might

be gained by satirical jests. Though she was extremely valued, and her friendship prized and sought for by them of the highest condition, yet she ever treated those of the lowest with great condescension and humanity. The memory of her virtues and benefits made such deep impression on her neighbours of Deptford and Greenwich, that if any one should bring in another report from this, or what was generally received among them, they would condemn it as false, and the effect of a slanderous calumny: either they would never yield that any change should happen to this excellent lady, or they'd impute it to sickness, or time, or chance, or the unavoidable frailties of human nature. But I have somewhat digressed from my subject, which was to describe her person or perfections no otherwise than may be gathered from the letters I received;¹ they contain historical passages and accounts of any more or less considerable action or accident that came to her knowledge, with diverting or serious reflections as the subject required, but generally in an equal and chaste style, supported by a constant gravity, never descending to affected sallies of ludicrous wit.

It's to be further observed, that though she recites and speaks French exactly, and understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictness to the purity of the English tongue, that she never introduces foreign or adopted words. That there's a great steadiness and equality in her thoughts, and that her sense and expressions have a mutual dependence on each other, may be inferred from hence—you shall never perceive one perplexed sentence, or blot, or recalling a word in more than twenty letters.

Many persons with whom she conversed or were related to her, or had any public part in the world, were honoured by very lively characters conferred on them, always just and full of discernment, rather inclining to the charitable side, yet no otherwise than as skilful masters who paint like, yet know how to give some graces and advantages to them whose pictures they draw. The expressions are clear and unaffected, the sentences frequent and grave, the remarks judicious, the periods flowing and long, after the Ciceronian

¹ Copies of many letters to Dr. Bohun were found at Wotton, but not those here referred to. Several of them will follow, with some addressed to other correspondents, as specimens of her manner and great good sense.

way ; yet, though they launch out so far, they are strict to the rules of grammar, and ever come safe home at last without any obscurity or incoherence attending them.

I will only give one instance of a person who was characterized by her in a more favourable manner than he durst presume that he deserved ; however, to show the method of her writing, I shall set it down. "I believe (such an one) to be a person of much wit, great knowledge, judicious and discerning, charitable, well natured, obliging in conversation, apt to forget and forgive injuries, eloquent in the pulpit, living according to known precepts, faithful to his friend, generous to his enemy, and in every respect accomplished ; this in our vulgar way is a desirable character, but you'll excuse if I judge unrefinedly who have the care of cakes and stilling, and sweetmeats and such useful things."

Mrs. Evelyn has been often heard to say concerning the death of her admirable and beloved daughter, that though she had lost her for ever in this world, yet she would not but that she had been, because many pleasing ideas occur to her thoughts that she had conversed with her so long, and been made happy by her for so many years.

Oxon, 1695, Sept. 20.

[This character of Mrs. Evelyn would appear to have been written thirteen years before her death. She outlived her husband nearly three years, and, by her will dated in February 1708-9 (the year and month of her death), desired to be buried in a stone coffin near that of "my dear husband, whose love and friendship I was happy in, fifty-eight years nine months ; but by God's providence left a disconsolate widow, the 27th day of February, 1705, in the 71st year of my age. His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband ; for instruction, tenderness, affection, and fidelity to the last moment of his life ; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me ; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parent's care and goodness, in placing me in such worthy hands."]

LETTERS OF MRS. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun.¹

SIR,

I am concerned you should be absent when you might confirm the suffrages of your fellow collegiots, and see the mistress both Universities court; a person who has not her equal possibly in the world, so extraordinary a woman she is in all things. I acknowledge, though I remember her some years since and have not been a stranger to her fame, I was surprised to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. Her habit particular, fantastical, not unbecoming a good shape, which she may truly boast of. Her face discovers the facility of the sex, in being yet persuaded it deserves the esteem years forbid, by the infinite care she takes to place her curls and patches. Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets, or the descriptions of a romance heroine's greatness; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is as airy, empty, whimsical, and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating commonly in nonsense, oaths, and obscenity. Her way of address to people, more

¹ This letter appears to describe the impression produced on the writer by that interview with Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, to which reference is made in the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 26: "Went again with my wife to the Duchess of Newcastle, who received her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dress, which was very singular." The date therefore will be 1667.

than necessarily submissive; a certain general form to all, obliging, by repeating affected, generous, kind expressions; endeavouring to show humility by calling back things past, still to improve her present greatness and favour to her friends. I found Doctor Charlton with her, complimenting her wit and learning in a high manner; which she took to be so much her due that she swore if the schools did not banish Aristotle and read Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, they did her wrong, and deserved to be utterly abolished. My part was not yet to speak, but admire; especially hearing her go on magnifying her own generous actions, stately buildings, noble fortune, her lord's prodigious losses in the war, his power, valour, wit, learning, and industry,—what did she not mention to his or her own advantage? Sometimes, to give her breath, came in a fresh admirer; then she took occasion to justify her faith, to give an account of her religion, as new and unintelligible as her philosophy, to cite her own pieces line and page in such a book, and to tell the adventures of some of her nymphs. At last I grew weary, and concluded that the creature called a chimera which I had heard speak of, was now to be seen, and that it was time to retire for fear of infection; yet I hope, as she is an original, she may never have a copy. Never did I see a woman so full of herself, so amazingly vain and ambitious. What contrary miracles does this age produce. This lady and Mrs. Philips!¹ The one transported with the shadow of reason, the other possessed of the substance and insensible of her treasure; and yet men who are esteemed wise and learned, not only put them in equal balance, but suffer the greatness of the one to weigh down the certain real worth of the other. This is all I can requite your rare verses with; which as much surpass the merit of the person you endeavour to represent, as I can assure you this description falls short of the lady I would make you acquainted with: but she is not of mortal race, and therefore cannot be defined.

M. E.

¹ The once "matchless Orinda;" now forgotten. An edition of her poems had come out during the present year.

To Mr. Bohun.

May 21, 1668.

If it be true that we are generally inclined to covet what we admire, I can assure you my ambition aspires not to the fame of Balzac, and therefore must not thank you for entitling me to that great name. I do not admire his style, nor emulate the spirit of discontent which runs through all his letters. There is a lucky hit in reputation, which some obtain by the defect in their judges, rather than from the greatness of their merit: the contrary may be instanced in Doctor Donne, who, had he not been really a learned man, a libertine in wit and a courtier, might have been allowed to write well; but I confess in my opinion, with these qualifications he falls short in his letters of the praises some give him.

Voiture seems to excel both in quickness of fancy, easiness of expression, and in a facile way of insinuating that he was not ignorant of letters, an advantage the Court air gives persons who converse with the world as books.

I wonder at nothing more than at the ambition of printing letters: since, if the design be to produce wit and learning, there is too little scope for the one; and the other may be reduced to a less compass than a sheet of gilt paper, unless truth were more communicative. Business, love, accidents, secret displeasure, family intrigues, generally make up the body of letters; and can signify very little to any besides the persons they are addressed to, and therefore must lose infinitely by being exposed to the unconcerned. Without this declaration, I hope I am sufficiently secure never to run the hazard of being censured that way; since I cannot suspect my friends of so much unkindness, nor myself of the vanity to wish fame on so doubtful a foundation as the caprice of mankind. Do not impute my silence to neglect. Had you seen me these ten days continually entertaining persons of different humour, age, and sense, not only at meals, or afternoon, or the time of a civil visit, but from morning till night, you will be assured it was impossible for me to finish these few lines sooner; so often have I set pen to paper and been taken off again, that I almost despaired

to let you know my satisfaction that Jack¹ complies so well with your desires, and that I am your friend and servant,

M. EVELYN.

To Sir Samuel Tuke.

SIR,

I think myself obliged, since this is the day designed for your happiness, to express the part I take in your joy, and join my wishes for the continuance of it. The favour you intend me on Monday I receive with much satisfaction, but fear you will not afford it us long, when you find the many inconveniences of a little house, a disordered family, and the difference in judgments; all which may be dispensed with, whilst health, the discretion of servants, and other accidents, permit; but should there be a miscarriage in any of these, the end of our joining families ceases, and I, who am sensible of my own defects and tender of my friends' contentment, cannot entertain the hopes you will be sufferers many days. Let not this surprise you, since it proceeds from a cautiousness in my nature, which will not suffer me to engage, where I have any part to act, with that assurance some are more happy in; therefore prepare your lady with the nicety of my temper, and the truth of this, that I may not pass in either opinions for a person that promises more than can be performed by,

Sir, your humble servant,

M. E.

To Mr. Bohun.

SIR,

July 17, 1668.

By honest John and my last to Jack, you have learnt Sir Samuel is entered into the state of matrimony. I do assure you, if marriage were the happy establishment in his opinion, he has made choice of a wife every way worthy of him, for person, quality, wit, good mien, and severe virtue; her piety cannot be questioned after living seven years a canoness, which includes all the strictness of a nun, the vow only excepted. They are both here at pre-

¹ Her son, then at College under Mr. Bohun's care.

sent, and will remain some time till they can fit themselves for housekeeping ; I am generally well pleased with such favours from my friends, and I am extremely satisfied with the conversation of this fair lady. I am apt, I confess, to enlarge the characters of them I esteem, but to be just to the merit of this person I ought to say much more. I will suppose your college affairs take up much of your time, and that your diversions in Oxford are very charming ; yet neither should make you so absolutely forget Deptford and those in it, as not to impart some of your pleasant thoughts, at spare moments especially, knowing how well we receive your letters, and how naturally our sex loves novelty, that I cannot but accuse you of unkindness ; however, I am,

Your friend and servant,

M. E.

To my brother Glanville¹ in France.

SIR,

I have received your kind letter, and am not astonished Mr. Fuller finds so great a difference between a French pension and Woodcott table. Let him know eating is the least design of travellers ; that particular waived, I still persevere in the defence of France ; and will believe, when you have overcome the difficulties of the language, and gained some acquaintance amongst the better sort, visited the Court, seen the noble buildings and pleasant seats in and about Paris, you will render to what has been related to you, that it is an excellent country, wherein indeed riches are partially distributed, yet employed to great use and ornament. The people are little various in their tempers, for which blame the several nations from which they are descended ; but all agreeing in the desire to enlarge their bounds, and augment the glory of the prince under whom the most of them do but breathe. I am sorry it was not my good fortune to stay till you came, or your lot to come when I was there, that I might have been assisting to your conversation. An ambassador is daily

¹ See *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 380, for a character of Mr. Glanville, who had married Evelyn's sister. The letter is undated, but the mention of Lord Arlington's influence seems to fix the year as that immediately following Clarendon's disgrace, and the triumph of the Cabal ; namely, 1668-9.

threatened to be sent from hence, but it is not yet decided which of the two able statesmen shall carry it—the Lord Buchan, or Mr. R. Montagu; since it does not depend on their abilities for the employment, but their being disposed to marry my Lord Arlington's wife's sister, as the necessary article to arrive to that dignity. When either is declared, you shall not fail of the address you desire. In the meantime any English gentleman must be well received by my Lord of St. Alban's. Though your eye be continually over my cousin your son, and your care as great as a tender and knowing parent's can be, yet I am persuaded you will find the breeding in an academy the likeliest way to answer all ends except that of expense, which must be greater there than elsewhere; but not to be valued, considering the advantages of good conversation, the emulation which young persons of good birth raise in one another, the learning all manly exercises in community, and the gaining a good air and assurance best acquired by example, which works most with such ingenious and observing tempers as my cousin seems to be. The orders are generally good, the discipline strict, and, I am informed, the chief master in our time has left a nephew, that not only equals but excels him; and is also of the religion.¹ If you are inclined to take this course with my nephew this winter, you will find him out in the Faubourg St. Germain, so pleasant a part of the town I admire you can live out of it. When you walk to the Charity, if you inquire for the Rue Farrene you may see how pleasantly our house was situated. I fear you will judge I mention Paris with that affection persons in age remember the satisfaction of their youth, to which happiness was the nearest, at least in their opinion, and so past that there is no hopes of a return. Such, I confess, in part are my thoughts of that place, but must not flatter myself you will confirm me in them, who arrive there in a more discerning age, and carry with you a little prejudice against the people; yet something is to be expected from the justice of your nature in their behalf, and from the goodness of your nature in mine. Excuse the liberty of, Your affectionate sister,

M. E.

¹ A Protestant, Mrs. Evelyn means.

To Mr. Terryll in Ireland.¹

Feb. 10, 1668-9.

SIR,

I have received yours with the enclosed to Mr. Bohun, which shall be conveyed to him with care. I am not to doubt of your good reception where your merit is well understood; I am rather to wish you may not meet with engagements to keep you long out of this country, which, if so unhappy as to impart vices to its neighbours, cannot boast of many virtues to spare. This may truly be esteemed an admiring age, if distance from what is worthy define it well; and what leads me to this opinion is the strange veneration paid to the ruins of ancient structures, greater than the entire edifices ever could pretend to; a sort of justice virtue challenges in our time, and leaves the practice to the choice of the succeeding age. To inform you of what passes here cannot be acceptable, since I suppose you are, not without the curiosity of travellers, desirous to collect foreign novelties; which, should you be exempt from, little is worth communicating to you from hence. The censure of our plays comes to me at the second hand. There has not been any new lately revived and reformed, as *Catiline*, well set out with clothes and scenes; *Horace*, with a farce and dances between every act, composed by Lacy and played by him and Nell, which takes;² one of my Lord of Newcastle's, for which printed apologies are scattered in the assembly by Briden's order, either for himself who had some hand in it, or for the author most; I think both had right to them.³ State affairs I am not likely to give you an account of, if Mr. B.'s character be

¹ Mr. Terryll was the son of Sir Timothy (variously called by Evelyn, Tirrill, Tyrell, and Tyrill), as to whom see vol. i. pp. 287 and 405; vol. ii. p. 105; and vol. iii. p. 308.

² See *Pepys' Diary*, Bohn's edition, vol. iv. p. 84. "*Horace*" was a poor translation of Corneille's tragedy by Mrs. Philips. See *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 35, where Evelyn contrasts the virtue of the authoress with that of the ladies (Castlemaine and others) before whom he saw it performed.

³ An entry in the *Diary* of Pepys (vol. iv. pp. 93, 94), will probably explain this allusion.

taken of me, who fancies I know nothing of the Dutch war till the guns went off at Chatham; and in my own concerns the most important good-fortune which has befallen me of late is the honour I have had to kiss my lady your mother's hands, with two of your sisters, whose stay in town being short as well as mine deprived me of the satisfaction I rejoiced much in. My father and Mr. Evelyn are infinitely your servants, and I am,

Sir, your humble, &c.

To Mr. Terryll in Ireland.

SIR,

Had I not been assured by some of your friends that you were upon your return into England about Easter, I should not have omitted my acknowledgments for your obliging letter; but since finding, upon better information, that good fortune is not so near, give me leave to beg your excuse for an undesigned fault, and inquire farther what can be the charms of a place which has not only invited but detained persons of so much wit and merit in it? Can it be the natives' fame for learning of late years which is the powerful attraction? or the Irish beauties above those of other countries, which engages through such dangerous seas? It cannot be judged by Mr. Terryll that interest only should be the motive; there must be something more reasonable than rich fields and herds to souls so much raised above the vulgar. But I will give a stop to my curiosity, and satisfy myself that the same prudence which was our guide here accompanies you everywhere, and will maintain your choice of every thing but friends, which admits of no objection except the permission you give me to be of the number; yet I am certainly as much as any,

Sir, your most, &c.

To my Brother Glanville in France.

SIR,

I have received yours of the 25th May, and will hope mine in answer to your first came safe to you, since it passed under your niece's cover. Of any person I know,

you had the least reason to visit France, either to improve mien, wit, or style, since all necessary accomplishments were ever granted you; but I acknowledge a nicer way of raillery is practised where you live than is used amongst us, or you would never address yourself to me for lessons in an art too well understood by you already. All I pretend to is, to keep myself on the defensive; plainness and sincerity are my best guards; I confess beauty and youth sometimes stand in need of subtlety and stratagems to evade and rescue them from the surprises of men, but persons wanting those charms are sufficiently secured from any attacks that may exercise the invention. Your return hither will be very pleasing to your friends. I imagine you so furnished with such critical and pleasant remarks of the countries, people, and customs, that, should you oppose former characters of France, your relation would be rendered to, as being latest and made with most judgment. Yet let not curiosity pass in your opinion for the only inducement which makes me desire your return, since your merit challenges my best wishes, which shall accompany you till I can assure you in a better manner how much I am,

Sir, &c.

To my Brother Glanville at Wotton.

Sept. 21, 1670.

SIR,

I will not study much or long to excuse those weak tears you so slight and condemn in women, as believing they are always at our command, but I can assure you neither the flesh-pots nor the onions caused them in me. I have often been as nobly and as civilly entertained at Wotton,¹ and yet have I parted with dry eyes. It is reality and kindness which gains upon my spirit. I will not deny but a confusion of thoughts proceeding from gratitude, a sense of my own want of merit, an apprehension I should

¹ The reader may be reminded that Evelyn did not succeed to the paternal estate of Wotton till after his elder brother George's death; nearly thirty years after the date of this letter.

make unequal returns, with the approaching loss of so much happiness, produced those unusual and unseasonable effects in me, though common in others, without the least mixture of pride or emulation. This your severity will hardly allow of, but when you shall learn more of my nature and the secrets of my heart, which I wish you already knew, so I might be spared the telling them, because advantageous to me, and which are not concealed from you out of the least distrust of your discretion or friendship, but from niceness I cannot very well justify. Sometimes philosophical reflections have been of use to me, but I was surprised with abundance of kindness, of which you may justly claim a large share, since

I am, &c.

To Mrs. Evelyn of Woodcot.

Sep. 26, 1670.

DEAR SISTER,

The indisposition which you carried out of town, and the solitude you live in, gives me a desire to inquire after your health, and a title to interrupt your melancholy thoughts,¹ though it be but with the assurance of our wishes for your perfect recovery. One who is of so judicious a temper as you are, cannot, if you give your reason leave to act, but be armed against all accidents which may disturb your quiet in a great measure. I confess to be wholly insensible of sorrow or misfortune is as little to be wished, as it is seldom to be found; since the inequalities of human life contribute much to the happiness of it, so that the variety of ills prove not the greater share; which hitherto your condition seems to have exempted you from. It is true you have newly lost a friend and a guide, but you have it now more absolutely in your own power to be whatever prudence and generosity dictates to you. And as you have it in your power, so I am confident it is in your will to oblige and gratify a friend, especially one who may challenge your kindness in some sort upon the account of

¹ The death of her husband (Evelyn's brother Richard) had taken place a few months before.—See *Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 48-9.

avowed services and much worth, one who has pursued your satisfaction preferably to his own interest, which shows he has a true sense of honour,—and not to keep you longer in suspense with the character of a person, better known to you by his actions than by any description I can make of him, it can be no other than my brother Glanvil; who certainly, being named, tells you wherein you may acknowledge past obligations and engage him for the future, by advancing his pretensions to my Lady Lewtner. Possibly you may think it early to propose anything of that nature to a discreet widow and your own sister, who it may be you could wish might never have any thoughts of changing her condition, upon like resolutions of your own; but be assured, persons so considerable for beauty, virtue, and fortune, will never enjoy that calm of those thoughts long; attempts will be made; persons of all degrees of merit and sufficient quality will make addresses, and value themselves by breaking through those rules of decency that they may be the first discoverers of their extreme; therefore you ought not to blame my brother if he has already given marks of his, who from a long knowledge of my Lady's great merit and obliging nature, has taken courage to lay himself at her feet; from whence he must not hope to be raised if she were of a haughty mind, that could allow of no happiness but in great titles and vast riches (in which certainly it is not wholly to be placed); but did it consist in either, she is so secured by a large provision of both, that she need not require an addition from a husband; all that seems to be required is, her choice in a man that can value her perfections, be a friend to her interests, and make her happiness his own; which qualifications may assuredly be allowed my brother, who protests with all imaginable zeal and sincerity that he has no other design but her satisfaction and advantage, and to live with honour the rest of his days, towards which who would not that could assist, and who better can than yourself; an endeavour which acquits your obligations to a sister that you love, and a friend that you value; which that you will do cannot be thought strange, but that I should concern myself in my Lady Lewtner's affairs may appear so, being neither solicited by my brother, who knows nothing of my per-

sumption in his behalf, nor called to council by you who need no advice to do well ; however, let me beg of you to give a favourable construction to this freedom, and believe it proceeds from the kindest intentions I can express, since I am,

Dear sister, your, &c.

To Mrs. Evelyn of Woodcot.

DEAR SISTER,

I very much rejoice in the improvement of your health, and do still persist in my opinion that you may owe much of your happiness and quiet to your own prudence. I also continue to believe that my brother Glanvil deserves very much from you ; and you have rightly guessed my meaning by the intrigue between my cousin Will and my niece, which would have proved no dishonour to him had he resolved to succeed in it, since we judge of things of that nature commonly by the event, and not from the means, but he being tender of your satisfaction made honour a very nice point. Give me leave to rectify a little mistake in Mr. Evelyn's behalf, who though he might often wish one of the name worthy of my niece, never declared for my cousin Will more than that, if she should think him sufficiently deserving, with my brother and your consent, it was not a choice to be contemned and deplored, since he is likely to make a very good man ; and farther than such a reply I believe he never made to several discourses on that subject, urged at several times by many of our relations and acquaintance. As to my Lady Lewtner's concern, I do acknowledge I ought not to have gone so far had I not flattered myself with the hopes of your embracing any proposition so much to my brother's advantage ; but possibly you have reasons in reserve more powerful than those which are visible to the world against him ; and it is not my single opinion, but the belief of many others, that my Lady, your sister, though never so prudent and cautious, may not injure herself in marrying such a person as he is ; yet I will not importune you to be his advocate since you declare so positive a dislike to second marriages in general, the only excuse you can make for not being his friend in this particular, be it on the account of gratitude or kindness, the

word signifies little where the intention is friendly; exceptions against such strict rules are daily made, and experience shows that as unequal fall out, therefore I shall make the less apology for the failings of

Your humble servant,

M. E.

To my Cousin Mary Evelyn.

Sept. 28, 1670.

DEAR COUSIN,

I have had often cause to acknowledge the noble entertainment and great civilities I have received at Wotton, but I never was more sensible of my obligations to my brother and yourself, than at present, from a full persuasion I was never treated with more reality and kindness, which gains infinitely upon such a temper as mine is: I wish you were as well inclined to believe as I am that passage in Scripture reasonable, which advises a woman not only to leave, but to forget her father's house for a husband, and as well assured you should meet with as worthy and deserving a family as I have done. Some part of this you will think strange doctrine, but I seriously beg of you not to persist in your opinions concerning marriage, and that you will conform to so good a father's desires as you have in this particular, and endeavour to establish your happiness beyond his life, which, that you may long enjoy, with all other blessings I heartily wish, being

Your affectionate,

M. E.

To Mrs. Evelyn of Wotton.

1670.

DEAR COUSIN,

I am so well persuaded of your good nature and merit, and so sensible of your best civility, that I wish for a more important occasion to express the desire I have to serve you. I have endeavoured to perform your commands in fitting my little niece with a mantle coat, bodice coat,

petticoat, narrow shoes and stockings, which I bespoke two sizes less than any that are made for a child of a year old. If they prove to nurse's mind, or have any fault, let me know it, that the next may be the same or more exact. I was not willing to send all, believing it some difficulty to fit the lady by guess. Though you never want very good company, I cannot but wish myself sometimes two or three hours in a day with you, to be a witness of the pleasant conversation I fancy such wits as Mr. Duncan and others of that strain afford you. I hope my cousin Mary is perfectly recovered; that your father, husband, uncle, and brother are in perfect health, to whom my father presents his most humble service and particularly to yourself; assure them of my humble service, and esteem me,

Dear Cousin,

Your humble servant,

M. E.

To her Son.

JACK,

I have received your letter and request for a supply of money; but none of those you mention which were bare effects of your duty. If you were so desirous to answer our expectations as you pretend to be, you would give those tutors and overseers you think so exact over you, less trouble than I fear they have with you. Much is to be wished in your behalf: that your temper were humble and tractable, your inclinations virtuous, and that from choice, not compulsion, you make an honest man. Whatever object of vice comes before you, should have the same effect in your mind of dislike and aversion that drunkenness had in the youth of Sparta when their slaves were presented to them in that brutish condition, not only from the deformity of such a sight, but from a motive beyond theirs—the hope of a future happiness, which those rigorous heathens in moral virtue had little prospect of, finding no reward for virtue but in virtue itself. You are not too young to know that lying, defrauding, swearing, disobedience to parents and persons in authority, are offences to God and man: that debauchery is injurious to growth, health, life, and indeed to the pleasures of life; therefore,

now that you are turning from child to man, endeavour to follow the best precepts, and choose such ways as may render you worthy of praise and love. You are assured of your father's care and my tenderness; no mark of it shall be wanting at any time to confirm it to you, with this reserve only, that you strive to deserve kindness by a sincere honest proceeding, and not flatter yourself that you are good whilst you only appear to be so. Fallacies will only pass in schools. When you thoroughly weigh these considerations, I hope you will apply them to your own advantage, as well as to our infinite satisfaction. I pray daily God would inspire you with his grace, and bless you.

I am,

Your loving mother,

M. EVELYN.

To my Brother Glanville at West Dean.

December, 1670.

SIR,

Though I will not murmur that you prefer West Dean to Deptford to pass your Christmas in, since the attractive upon all accounts is so much more powerful, yet give me leave to lament the loss of so good conversation as I promised myself in yours: but to let you see I can prefer the satisfaction of a friend to my own, I will turn my complaints of you into good wishes for the success of so reasonable an address, as I am persuaded you are now making; and could I question any perfection in the ladies you so much admire, it would only be how one who deserves so well should so long dispute the merit of such a man as you are; do not imagine I pretend to compliment in return of those civilities you pass upon our sex, since, having the least title to your praises, I will have the least share in the acknowledgments; but to be just to you and serious in my opinion, I do repeat, what I have so often declared with sincerity in your concern, that might I, after such a loss as a good husband must be to a virtuous wife, hope to repair it by the choice of a second, I should not only hope, but think myself secure, when I had twenty years known and

conversed with the freedom which honour and friendship permits, with a person of so much wit, good humour, generosity, prudence, and integrity as you possess; one of so entire a reputation in the world, so generally esteemed, and so fortunate in obliging others, and, to conclude, above all one resolved to love me disinterestedly, without which I confess the rest would prevail but little. This my Lady Lewtner cannot be ignorant of; and being convinced that it is true, how is it possible she can resist her own happiness in making yours? what scruple can remain in the breast of a worthy woman, who finds all that is desirable in her power? she may oblige you with her person and show her generosity too, since you will not pretend to equal her in fortune, though in nothing else inferior were articles to be drawn: I would take the liberty to own as much to the lady herself, were the acquaintance I have with her such as is requisite to recommend advice; but I dare not offer my sense to be the guide of another's actions, though I flatter myself I do not err in this opinion: but what discourages me chiefly is the slight reception my sister Evelyn gave a few lines I writ to her on this subject, who I thought might have endeavoured more to your satisfaction than I find she is inclined to do, since not inconsistent with her own interest and the value she has for such a sister. Pardon the liberty I take to tell you my thoughts plainly, and the interruption I give those happy moments you now enjoy, to which I wish to bring increase.

To my Lady Tuke after the death of Sir Samuel Tuke.

January 28, 1670-1.

MADAM,

I acknowledge these are trials which make Christian philosophy useful, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happiness than any this world can give: without which we were extremely wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. We are solicitous to obtain, we fear whilst we possess, and we are inconsolable when we lose. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this un-

steady state of human nature ; let us not murmur then, for we offend ; and though in compliance to your present sense of things I could join with you in grieving, having made as particular a loss as ever any did in a friend, I dare not indulge your sorrow, especially when I consider how prejudicial it will prove to yourself and those dear pledges that are left to your care ; but I do rather beg of you cease grieving, and owe that to reason and prudence which time will overcome. Were I in so good health that I could quit my chamber, I would be daily with you and assure you how really I am concerned for you. You cannot doubt the affection of your, &c.

To Mr. Bohun.

Sayer-court, Jan. 29, 1670-1.

SIR,

If a friend be of infinite value living, how much cause have we to lament him dead ! Such a friend was Sir Samuel Tuke, who retired out of this life on St. Paul's day [25 Jan.] at midnight, and has changed the scene to him and us, and left occasion to all that knew him to bewail the loss. You need not to be made sensible by a character of a person you knew so well, and you can enumerate virtues enough to lament and shed some tears justly ; therefore spare me the sorrow of repeating what effect it has wrought on such a mind as mine, who think no misfortune worth regretting besides the loss of those I love. Do not blame me if I believe it almost impossible to meet with a person so worthy in himself, and so disposed to esteem me again ; and yet that is not the chiefest cause of my affliction. I might waive much of my own interest, had I not so many partners that will suffer equally. These are the trials which make Christian philosophy useful, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happiness than any this world can give, without which we were extremely wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of human nature, therefore well may I submit, whose concerns are trivial in respect of others. Yet this I conclude, that we die by degrees when

our friends go before us, But whilst I discourse thus with you, I should consider what effects melancholy reflections may have on a splenetic person, one who needs not cherish that temper. I will only add that I am now able to quit my chamber, which is more than I could do these fourteen days, and that I am,

Sir,

Your servant,

M. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun.

1671.

SIR,

I must believe you are very busy, hearing so seldom from you, and that you are much in the esteem of Dr. Bathurst,¹ since he judges so favourably of your friends. It cannot be the effect of his discernment which makes him give sentence in my behalf, being so great a master of reason as he is ; but it is certainly a mark of his great kindness to you that he defers to your judgment in opposition to his own. I should not question yours in other things, but the wisest may be allowed some grains, and I conclude you no less a courtier than a philosopher. Since my last to you I have seen "The Siege of Grenada," a play so full of ideas that the most refined romance I ever read is not to compare with it : love is made so pure, and valour so nice, that one would imagine it designed for an Utopia rather than our stage. I do not quarrel with the poet, but admire one born in the decline of morality should be able to feign such exact virtue ; and as poetic fiction has been instructive in former ages, I wish this the same event in ours. As to the strict law of comedy I dare not pretend to judge : some think the division of the story not so well as if it could all have been comprehended in the day's actions : truth of history, exactness of time, possibilities of adventures, are niceties the ancient critics might require ; but those who have outdone them in fine notions may be allowed the liberty to express them their own way, and the present world is so enlightened

¹ Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells, and President of Trinity College, in Oxford, whose *Life and Literary Remains* were published by Thomas Warton.

that the old dramatic must bear no sway. This account perhaps is not enough to do Mr. Dryden right, yet is as much as you can expect from the leisure of one who has the care of a nursery.

I am, Sir, &c.

M. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun.

May, 1671.

SIR,

I wish you had remembered my answer to some discourses you held before your departure concerning my cousin Glanville: it might have spared you the trouble, and my cousins the importunity, of a proposition not at all to their advantage or our satisfaction, since Jack is designed for the law in good earnest, in which he can make little progress, should marriage intervene; neither will his grandfather, father, and myself sacrifice him for a fortune, but shall rest satisfied with such a mediocrity as may be obtained with stratagem when his age and discretion will allow of that tie. Besides, having heard my cousin had intentions to bestow his daughter and fortune upon one of his name, it would not become us to select for ourselves to the prejudice of a relation we should willingly assist; therefore, upon the account of generosity or mistaken interest, let this design die as civilly as you can: when your time permits you to think of coming to town, you need not question your being welcome at Deptford; we are all well in health; all our relations are in town, your Deptford friends are well, and I am,

Sir, your servant,

M. E.

To my Brother Glanville.

Oct. 8, 1671.

SIR,

I have of late fancied myself very well established in your good opinion; I will not examine merit or the causes of things too strictly for fear I return to doubts again: your last confirms my belief, being a very obliging

letter. Love cannot be the motive from a man prepossessed, nor can interest in either of us be the inducement; it must then be concluded a mutual disposition to like one another's inclinations and tempers, which we will call friendship, and which, from this day forward, let neither piquant raillery nor pleasant interrupt, let neither censure nor whisper destroy; and if you sign these articles you shall never complain of a breach on my side. Well, what do you think of widows? are they not odd creatures? There is now a lady, newly a fine prize, near you. Who hovers about her yet? Can twenty years esteem of the Sussex lady change into a violent passion for the Dorking lady? If need were, cannot you imagine more probability in an address there, than the other way; were she as considerable, I would advise it: but when one goes to yoke oneself one would be glad it should be very easy; consideration of religion and fortune will come into one's head whether one will or no: and then, it may be, my friend Glanville is a happier man with liberty than so engaged; for marriage to such minds as yours and mine requires plenty and quiet, without which considerations, keep as you are, master of yourself; take heart, and, let fortune throw cross or pile, be merry, and always a friend to one that will ever be yours, since I am,

Dear Brother, your affectionate,

M. E.

To her Son.

Oct. 9, 1671.

DEAR JACK,

I do not question your being very happy in so fine a place and so good company, neither do I think you wholly pass your time in diversion. I wish you early wisdom; it may prevent late repentance. Your father is gone a little journey with Mr. Treasurer, to Newmarket, and to my Lord Arlington's upon his earnest invitation;¹ your grandfather is newly recovered of a fit of the gout; your sisters are all

¹ It was on this occasion that Evelyn dined familiarly with the King, and was witness of "fondness and toying" highly characteristic of the time.—See *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 68.

well except Moll, who, I fear, has taken a cold which may end in an ague. Mrs. Durfe comes down stairs after your sister Susan's fashion, she is yet so weak; we have been like to lose Mrs. Turner, but she is now passed danger; we shall certainly lose Madam Howard, and your spouse who is this night arrived, if the news hold that Sir Thomas Osborne brings his family this next summer to Deptford; Mr. Bohun sticks so close to his Spanish brother that we seldom see him; I have rare chocolate of his presenting for you. The foul weather and storms at sea have produced many shipwrecks and strange escapes. A seaman of this town, being the twentieth in a rotten ship boat, which sunk by their weight, and the only one amongst them that could swim, endeavoured to save the life of two of his companions that laid hold of an oar by driving them to the shore; but finding his skill and strength fail him he shook off one of the men, who gave him such a parting look so full of sorrow and pity, that though he came safe to land with his other companion, he cannot banish the thought of that dreadful farewell, nor almost forgive himself for not perishing with him. Another adventure of a Yarmouth fisherman, not less remarkable, who, being at sea when a great storm arose, alone in a little boat endeavoured to get to a bigger vessel which lay at anchor, but was loosened by the storm and set a drift, which he would have recovered, but in the attempt lost his oars, the waves dashing over him, so as he was almost overturned into the sea; when he saw a ship not far off, towards which he made, and by signs implored aid, which they speedily granted, and hauled him aboard. Few hours after, God gave him an occasion to show his gratitude; they being strangers, unacquainted with the coast, and in great danger of striking against the sands, which this old seaman perceiving, though he could not be understood by them in words, made them sensible by taking the rudder hastily from the steersman and turning another course, and so brought them safe to Yarmouth, where he saw his own abandoned barque returned safe also freighted with as many men as she could bring to harbour, which seemed to be a kind of providence for the safety of these men, who else had perished in a bigger vessel. To this accident it were desirable that some fine lady had made an escape to complete

the adventure, which might have given you a subject for a copy of verses,—but what may not a poet add? Amongst the ships that made the late discovery of the new strait, one had the ill fortune to perish with most of her men, and those few which escaped were preserved by the generosity of a seaman that could swim, who ventured five times with success to the rescue of five of his companions which he brought safe to shore, but perished endeavouring to bring in the sixth; an attempt that merits a better fate, and not outdone in the Roman story, since more greatness of mind has not been often expressed. Were you here, there would be no end of these stories; but it is time I finished this discourse, to remember my obligations to my brother for his favours to you, and to wish my cousin joy of the little one, since I hope the sorrowful hour is past. My service to my cousin Joe, to my cousin John, and to my cousin Mary when she returns.

I am, your loving mother,
M. E.

To Mrs. Alexander.

Oct. 9, 1671.

SINCE there has happened so much foul weather I have very much rejoiced that you did not make the Irish voyage, and do congratulate the safe arrival of your fair Ladies. Had you been very kind you would have passed some of your time at Deptford, but when I remember how little diversion there is here, and how ill you were treated, I forgive your long absence. I have sent your treasure, and approve of your generosity. Christian has left a small bundle for you, which Dubourg will deliver you. I hope it will not be long before I come to town, and if I can hear where to find you, I will endeavour to let you know it, that I may wait upon your Ladies, whose affections you cannot fail of as soon as you are known to them. I have many strange adventures and remarkable escapes at sea to relate for the encouragement of one that were ready to embark; but since you are not in any such hazard, I will reserve them till I see you, and do wish

you established to your satisfaction: it is but what you merit, and it is what I would contribute to were I capable, since no person is more affectionately your friend, than is
M. E.

To Mr. Bohun.¹

Sayes-Court, March 2, 1671-2.

SIR,

When I have assured you that my usual indisposition has treated me so severely this winter, that I have had little leisure to think of anything but the means of gaining health and ease, I am persuaded you will excuse me if I have not decided in my thoughts which was the greatest captain, Cæsar or Pompey; whether M. De Rosny were not a great politician, a brave soldier, and the best servant that ever Prince had for capacity, fidelity, and steadiness, a man strangely disinterested, infinitely fortunate, and every way qualified to serve such a master as was Henry the Great, who, notwithstanding human frailties, was worthy to be faithfully dealt with, since he knew how to judge and to reward. But why do we always look back into times past? we may not reproach our own, since here is at this present a scene for gallantry and merit, and whilst we may hope, we must not condemn. Should I tell you how full of sorrow I have been for the loss of Dr. Bretton,² you only would blame me; after death flattery ceases, therefore you may believe there was some cause to lament, when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their souls were in; one would have imagined every one in this parish had lost a father, brother, or husband, so great was the bewailing; and in earnest it does appear there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weak and preserved the wise. The suddenness of his death was a surprise only to his friends; as for himself it might be looked upon as a

¹ Mr. Bohun had now completed his superintendence of young Evelyn's education, and gone into residence at Oxford, "having well and faithfully," says Evelyn, "performed his charge."—See *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 57.

² Minister of Deptford; he died in February, 1671-2.

deliverance from pain, the effect of sickness; and I am almost persuaded God snatched him from us, lest he might have been prevailed with by the number of petitions to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect kindness in me makes me speak too much, Dr. Parr¹ is a person against whom you cannot object; it was he who preached the funeral sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence he himself could not forbear weeping in the pulpit. It was his own expression that there were three for whom he had infinitely grieved, the martyred King, my Lord Primate,² and Dr. Bretton; and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that oration, there was not a dry eye nor a dissenting person. But of this no more.

M. EVELYN.

To Mr. Bohun.

January 4, 1672.

SIR,

Do not think my silence hitherto has proceeded from being taken up with the diversions of the town, the éclat of the Court gallantry, the entertainment of the wedding masquerades, which trebled their number the second night of the wedding that so there was great disorder and confusion caused by it, and with which the solemnity ended: neither can I charge the housewifery of the country after my return, or treating my neighbours this Christmas, since I never find any business or recreation that makes me forget my friends. Should I confess the real cause, it is your expectation of extraordinary notions of things wholly out of my way. Women were not born to read authors and censure the learned, to compare lives and judge of virtues, to give rules of morality, and sacrifice to the Muses. We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from family duties is misspent; the care of children's education, observing a husband's commands, assisting the sick, relieving the poor,

¹ Richard Parr, D.D., Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell. He died Nov. 2, 1691. The funeral sermon alluded to was printed in 1672. See Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. i. p. 323.

² Archbishop Usher.

and being serviceable to our friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us ; and if sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires, a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little of esteem. The distaff will defend our quarels as well as the sword, and the needle is as instructive as the pen. A heroine is a kind of prodigy ; the influence of a blazing star is not more dangerous or more avoided. Though I have lived under the roof of the learned, and in the neighbourhood of science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine, but that of admiration, and that too but when it is reduced to practice. I confess I am infinitely delighted to meet in books with the achievements of the heroes, with the calmness of philosophers, and with the eloquence of orators ; but what charms me irresistibly is to see perfect resignation in the minds of men, let whatever happen of adverse to them in their fortune : that is being knowing and truly wise ; it confirms my belief of antiquity, and engages my persuasion of future perfection, without which it were in vain to live. Hope not for volumes or treatises ; raillery may make me go beyond my bounds, but when serious, I esteem myself capable of very little, yet I am,

Sir,
Your friend and servant,

M. E.

To my Lady Ann Carr.

March 26, 1672.

MADAM,

I can assure you neither the cold weather nor the hilliness of the ways has kept me thus long from paying my respects to your Ladyship, but an indisposition to which I am subject, and which has treated me so severely this winter, that I have been confined to my chamber and house above three months without once venturing out so far as the church ; a kind of weaning me from that sensible loss we have made by the death of Doctor Bretton ; a more worthy man there never was, and one in whom there is so many things to be justly said in his praise, that should I but enter

upon the discourse you might fear the length of my letter. I know not how to acknowledge your Ladyship's last favour by any return of news from hence. Madam Howard has almost quitted this place, with whose concerns I am as little acquainted as during her last long absence; yet I wish all imaginable happiness to that family. The marriage of Betty Turner with a citizen of London is the latest joy has been in this parish, the fame of which has not reached your Ladyship yet, at which fine clothes, fine company, and great feasting could not be wanting. My father has been so happy as to be free from the gout this winter. Mr. Evelyn is at present taking care of those that fall by the hands of the Dutch, being gone to visit Chatham and Dover, and the rest of those places where sick and prisoners put in; Jack is with him. My little flock of girls are all well, and I promise myself so much health as may give me leave to wait upon my Lady Vere and your Ladyship very suddenly. I keep the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond with care, that I may return if you should desire it; I am so out of the way of such kind of wits that I dare not pretend to judge of it, yet I fancy the Duchess deserves all that is said of her; and did the author pass for lover, much more might have been expected from him, but he has now another kind of gallantry in chase, which I wish may prove successful to him and those other brave men that daily hazard themselves in the war. I am so near the guns that your Ladyship will not wonder that I should be solicitous for a happy event, and I am not less concerned to be esteemed,

Madam, your most humble servant,

M. E.

To Mr. Evelyn.

December, 1672.

MY DEAR,

I hope you do not imagine, though I live in the country and converse with sea-nymphs, now and then with a tarpaulin hero, that I do not apprehend the difference between this kind of felicity and that which you possess in a glorious Court, amongst great beauties and wits, and these

so refined that the charm of that splendour has no power on their spirits ; persons whose ideas are of a higher nature, whose minds are pure and actions innocent ; these, if I could be capable of envy, I should make the subject, but I am so far from failing in that kind that I rejoice in your happiness. I acknowledge you a better judge of such perfections, and to merit the honour of being an admirer of the calm, prudent, and beautiful Alecone, the friendship of the sprightly saint, and to be allowed the liberty of a playfellow to Ornethia, whose excellencies unite your admiration and esteem, since you have qualifications which may entitle you to as much good fortune as any man. If knowledge and discernment in curious and choice speculations, joined with virtues not common, though desirable in your sex, may obtain return of friendship from persons who cannot be unjust, and therefore must allow you a share of their esteem, you may pretend ; but should I hope for a part, it must be upon no other account, but as I have a little interest in you, and possibly a kindly thought of by you, which happiness produces many advantages to

AORTINSA.¹

To Mr. Bohun.

January, 1672-3.

SIR,

I find the slight cares of a family are great hindrances to the study of philosophy, and that one grows less and less capable of improvements by books, as one grows more acquainted with the world ; yet amongst those fine experiments which fall in my way, could I meet with any one equally curious with those of the Greshamites, though as unuseful and trifling, I might hope in time to be in something famous ; learning is become so easy of access by the late industry of some who have removed the bar language put to the illiterate, and make women pretenders to judge of Alexander's valour and conduct, and determine whether

¹ Mrs. Evelyn makes sad havoc of classical names in this playful letter to her husband, but they are left, with her signature, as she writes them.

the effeminacy and imbecility of the Persians did not abate of the miracles of such a conquest; that it was suddenly and unjustly gained, and as precipitously lost; and yet allow the man heathen worth who made all that stir till prosperity made him forget himself. He might have expected a better fate; but this subject has been in so many boys' mouths and themes, that it is reasonable for me to give it over and fall upon Dr. Pierce's sermons, which is a great step from Homer's admirer. Not to dispute the eloquence of the person who appears more like a Grecian orator than a Christian preacher for three parts of each sermon,—which how necessary, now whole countries are under the Christian profession, I know not,—one would imagine 26 hundred years had worn out the remembrance of idolising insensible orators; that there were no more need of drawing instances from the moral men to encourage virtue, where light and joyful truth have had such influences. But for the selections of young students whose first compositions are far-fetched, and keep alive the stories of the ancients by succession in the pulpit, one should hardly know who Socrates and Zeno were; and of what importance to the congregation, few in it understand. The great example should be Christ. His doctrine, and the effects of it in the first ages of the church, when innocency and purity filled the minds of men; when the sincerity of their words appeared by the manifestation of good works; when the leaders and people lived in mutual charity and love. If this could be brought into fashion again it were a happy effect of men's labours. And since I have seen that piece of the primitive christianity, I fancy we are strangely out of the way to heaven; self-denial is a kind of by-path, and many necessary circumstances of a true believer are wholly out of use. Do not wonder I treat with you in this style, since I am assured you own it as the greatest honour that could have happened to you to serve at God's altar, and therefore cannot be displeased when anything is suggested to His glory. Your last to Mr. Evelyn gave us hope of seeing you suddenly.

To Mrs. Saul.

MRS. SAUL,

The esteem I have had for you as a neighbour and a deserving person, makes me more concerned for the general censure upon your late quitting your husband and family: had you consulted real friends with your design, they never would have advised a separation without equal consent of both parties; there is something so strict and binding in the marriage vow, that but upon extraordinary causes (the examples of which are rare) any divorce can be lawful: women especially being very tender how they violate that obligation, choosing rather to bear with infirmities, to pray for and endeavour the reformation of an ill man, by all the ways respect and love can suggest, and to bear injuries patiently, valuing their mutual reputation above particular satisfaction, as the necessary duty of a good wife, and the common effects of a good Christian, which qualification enables persons to overcome their own inclinations for a better end yet than present or worldly advantages, and secures their future and more lasting happiness. There is no state of life unattended with cares and troubles, afflictions are common and fall to every one's share more or less, therefore we should not without great presumption expect to run the course of this life so smoothly as to meet with no rub by the way. I take the more freedom to enlarge upon this subject with you, because I am really sorry one who appeared so sensible of what became her upon all accounts, as I have often observed you were, should take such ill measures in this last action as you have done; you cannot be ignorant how many there are who rejoice at peoples' misfortunes, and think they excuse their own errors by publishing others' failings; and I wish, and wish it heartily, you had not justified your husband by hurting yourself. I do remember some occasional discourse of yours to me in confidence, concerning some of his miscarriages, which obliged me to lament for you both, that a couple so likely by the agreeableness of person, quality, fortune, and age, should meet with any interruption to their happiness; but do now infinitely bewail it is come to so

wide a breach. I was in hopes you had convinced Mr. S. that it was both reasonable as well as convenient to reform the ill habits company might have engaged him in, and that he had wholly designed to take off your suspicion of a relapse; which disposition to virtue and kindness should have been complied with, and cherished by welcome at home, and all endeavours used to confirm him in so good a resolution. I know not what the real cause of dislike is on your part at present, neither will I judge. But were I to recommend Mr. S. to a wife in the temper I find him, I should pronounce in his behalf that he is likely to make a wife as happy as any man I know, if good humour, generous inclinations, industry, and many other good qualities, you have yourself done him the right to acknowledge him possessed of, can contribute towards it. Pray be so kind to yourself and him to return to all the duties of a wife; to forgive past faults like a Christian, to forget them like a friend; to begin your friendship upon a new account; and as caution for him, give me leave to be the person; your word is sufficient for yourself. Since he desires so earnestly to make you happy, banish all obstacles; do not entertain a thought that may check a blessing offered to you both. You will oblige me infinitely by a ready consent to so just a request, you will overcome by it the prejudicial reports concerning you, recover your friends, make an experiment which if successful will prove worth your while. Who would not try it, and submit to harder conditions than any I hope you will find? I beg of you to consider well what is offered you, and assure yourself that my zeal proceeds from a perfect belief of your innocence and merit, and a desire to reunite persons who have both deserved so well the esteem of

Your friend and servant,

M. E.

March 28, 1673.¹

SIR,

I acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters unanswered: That of the 20th this day came to my hands,

¹ The address of this letter is lost. It was probably written to one of her relatives at Wotton.

with a note to Will. Hayes, which I have given him. He will punctually observe your orders concerning your horse; for the beer, according to his judgment of things, he believes, since it is left undisturbed to which cellar it should go, it most properly belongs to his, as being worst furnished of any in Deptford; yet upon second orders it shall be bestowed where you please. You need not fear a long comment upon the lady's censure of my indulgence to children, since I confess myself too much inclined to that failing; but I have a maxim never to disturb the company with my own affairs, in showing dislike to servants' mistakes and children's faults; so that sometimes, I believe, I pass for a very fond mother and remiss mistress; yet it may be, in a convenient place, both are reprov'd; and amongst those who understand civility very well, this method is not unacceptable. Were I willing to entertain grief, I could answer to every particular of your first letter; but since there is no recalling of the dead, let us not mingle past sorrows with the present; every moment produces new occasions to exercise our morality. To comply with Mrs. Palmer's request it is impossible, till I am as much convinced of the excellency of my style as Mr. Alderson is of his preaching, who assured me his last funeral sermon was an elaborate, judicious, well-timed piece; and then all the scraps I have written shall be at her service. And in the meantime advise her, since she is a person of wit, bred under Doctor Bathurst's wing, and lives in the air of the university, to hazard some of her own lines abroad, and try what justice may be in the world. If I do not enlarge at this time, impute it to Easter-Eve; and excuse this character, scarce legible.

I am, sir,
Your servant.

To my Brother Glanville.

Decem. the last, 1673.

SIR,

I am not naturally suspicious, especially where I have an esteem. I was, I acknowledge, a little thoughtful what the cause of your silence might be, yet never doubted your friendship; and since it was on so reasonable an ac-

count, I am not only pacified for the loss of those kind expressions which I am always sure of from you, but would have added many good wishes to your endeavours for the success in the Captain's concern, which, by this time, I hope is out of question. Pray assure him and his lady I am their humble servant. When you are disposed to make us happy with your conversation, you cannot fail of welcome in a family that rejoice in the hopes of seeing you. You have conversed so much in the world, that you cannot be ignorant either of your own merit, or how kindly you will be received by those that have a real value for you. Be assured neither care nor industry would be wanting if an occasion would offer. Whatever else is unequal to you must be forgiven. The unsteadiness of the times is such, that a great man's favour is no sooner gained, but one is to begin again; and the difficulty is to know where a new endeavour may be made. The next lesson will try how fast some of them sit. If you were one of the house, you have a talent that might improve what interest you please. I suppose your correspondent is so good, I need not entertain you with news. The satisfaction I had in a week's stay in town was not so great that I should trouble you with the relation of it, besides the honour to have the Duchess's hand, visit the Duchess of Modena, &c. Only this particular I cannot omit concerning Sir George Lane, who is married to a daughter of my Lord of Dorset, a young, handsome person, who has 5000*l.* to her portion. The son desires to go into Ireland; to oblige him perfectly, the father settles 3000*l.* a year on his son, and reserves as much for a second venture: makes her a thousand a year jointure, and all the advantages in Ireland. I have had the honour to wait on the lady, and to give them both joy. My father has had his turn in town—proceeds as vigorously as he can in his affair, but they stand it out, which forces him to issue out an arrest against them. What that course may produce is yet to learn. He seemed desirous to finish it himself, as being best able to dispute their right, or defend his own; but the gout seizes him so often, though with less violence, that he is the more solicitous to end it. He is at present in bed, but not very ill. We have our workmen still, but hope a little time will finish all. Your brother watches and prays still. Jack studies and rumi-

nates; the girls make a noise; and I lend a little of my time to any one that seems to want it. How well I pass the hours in which I am not serviceable to others, I am no good judge. The conclusion of this year with this day, puts me in mind to wish you happiness with all imaginable joy the next.

I am, &c.

To Lady Tuke.

April, 1685

How to express the sorrow for parting with so dear a child is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever showed her father and me: a thread of piety accompanied all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, humility of her carriage in so severe and fatal a disease, discovered more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine goodness, never expressing fear of death, or a desire to live, but for her friends' sake. The seventh day of her illness she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desired to confess, and receive the blessed Sacrament, which she performed with great devotion; after which, though in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concern for the world, prayed often, and resigned her soul. What shall I say! She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved anything, much less such a jewel. I am too well assured of your Ladyship's kindness to doubt the part you take in this loss; you have ever showed yourself a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon your compassion; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from welcoming you to town, and rejoicing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination, one I must esteem as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as Sir Samuel was to me and mine. What is this world when we recall past things! what are the charms that keep our minds in suspense! without the conversation of those

we love, what is life worth ! How did I propose happiness this summer in the return of your Ladyship and my dear child—for she was absent almost all this winter !

She had much improved herself by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities—what shall I add ! I could ever speak of her, and might I be just to her without suspicion of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profited by her reading—such reflections, collections out of Scripture, confessions, meditations, and pious notions, evidence her time was not spent in the trifling way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a Christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitely sorry to incur God's further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that challenge my care, and for their sakes I endeavour to submit all I can. I thank my poor Cousin a thousand times for her kind concern, and wish she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue the blessing of both, and make you happy—which is the prayer of her who is

Yours, most affectionately,
M. E.

[To these letters of Mrs. Evelyn, may be subjoined two letters which have come into the Editor's possession since the volume containing her husband's correspondence was printed, but which so agreeably illustrate Evelyn's habits and intercourse with his neighbours and friends that it is worth including them in this collection.]

Mrs. Owen to John Evelyn.

Eltham, June 26, 1680.

HONOURED SIR,

I am heartily sorry that I forced you to buy tulips for your fine garden. I must confess your guineas look more glorious than now these tulips do ; but, when they come to blow, I hope you will be better pleased than now you are. I have sent you some of my ordinary sort, and, sir, when mine are blown, if you please to come and see them, Mr. Evelyn

shall buy no more, but have what he pleases for nothing. I am so well pleased with those that I have, that I shall neither buy more, nor part with any, unless it be to yourself.

I cannot, sir, send my husband's service to you, because I do not acquaint him with my trading for tulips. Sir John Shaw I cannot yet speak with (being taken up so much with visitors), as to know his mind about a gardener. Sir, I now beg your pardon for my rude lines, and desire you to assure yourself, that my husband and I, upon any occasion, shall be alway ready either to ride or go to serve you or yours. Thus having no more, but desiring to have my service to yourself, your lady, and Sir Richard Browne, and your beloved progeny, I shall take leave, and subscribe myself,

Your most humble servant, to command,

AMY OWEN.

John Evelyn to Mrs. Owen.

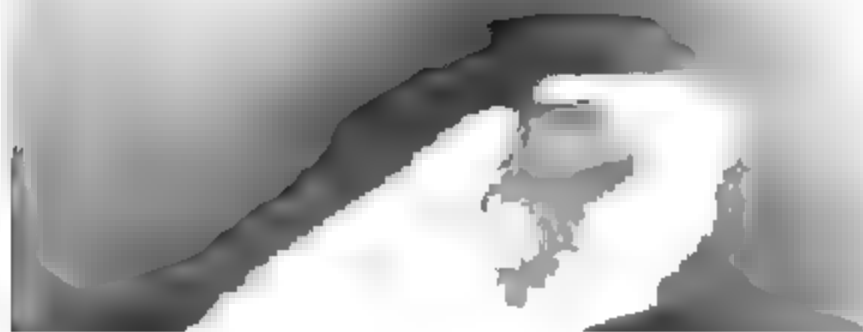
June 26, 1680.

MON AMY (that is, My Friend),

I am not so well pleased with Mrs. Owen's letter as with her tulips, because I am assured there must needs be some mistake, and that my gardener (who, perhaps, does not care that I should purchase anything but through his hands and in the common manner), as was to tell you that I would come myself and make friends with you, did leave that out. Can you ever imagine that I looked on your kindness as an imposing on me? Sure, you know me better than to think so; and that when I told you flowers of less value would better become my poor garden, it was neither to save my money nor reproach your merchandize. But I assure you I not only thank you for [them], but shall condemn you for a very unwise woman if you should forbear to continue a traffic which is so innocent, so laudable, and so frequent even among very great persons. You and I, therefore, must come to a better understanding upon this chapter. In the meantime I had a good mind to have sent you your last present back again, till all this had been cleared; for I do not love to be overcome in point of generosity, though I

see that for this present I must be. You seem to think I complained I had not full measure, and think now to make it up by overwhelming me with your kindness. This is a revenge that I cannot long endure, as you shall be sure to find, the first opportunity I can lay hold on. In the meantime I thank you most heartily for all your good intentions, and the kind offices which both you and the Doctor have ever been ready to do me. Sir Jo. Shaw did us the honour of a visit on Thursday last, when it was not my hap to be at home, for which I was very sorry. I met him since casually in London, and kissed him there unfeignedly. I chided myself that I was not there to receive him. Two of our coach-horses are still so lame, that we have not been able to stir out this fortnight; but so soon as they are in very tolerable condition, my wife and I will not fail of kissing your hands, and repaying this civility to Sir John; and so with our best respects to you and your Doctor,

We remain, &c.



PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I.

AND HIS

**SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR EDWARD
NICHOLAS ;**

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641,

AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

THE
CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES I.
AND
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Few more valuable or more interesting illustrations of English history have been at any time made public than the Private Correspondence between Charles I. and his secretary-of-state, Sir Edward Nicholas. These letters were found at Wotton, with the correspondence of Evelyn; his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, whose papers he inherited, having been connected by marriage with Mr. Secretary Nicholas; and since their publication they have been quoted and commented upon by every historian or critic of the period on which they throw so much curious and important light.

In no respect illustrating or forming part of Evelyn's history, the reason which existed for modernising the spelling in the case of the "Diary and Letters" did not here apply. These papers are strictly historical documents, and, as such, are presented in all respects precisely as they were found; with the king's apostils, by way of answer or remark to his secretary's information, printed as written in the margin of the secretary's dispatches; with the queen's notes and messages appended; with the occasional ciphers as in the originals; and, throughout, whether in these particular letters or in the few additional ones of later date, with a strict adherence to the exact orthography of the individual writers.

The date of the commencement of the letters is one of the most critical in the life of the king. It was that of the journey to Scotland, which preceded the fatal attempt to arrest the five members. The king's motives for this journey have been variously surmised and stated; but that, besides his hope of effecting a better understanding with the Scotch parliament by personal communication with its members, they also included an attempt by means of the new anticovenanting Scotch party which had been secretly formed by Montrose, to obtain evidence available against the popular leaders in England, may be gathered from a study of the present correspondence. The feeling entertained in the House of Commons as to what was involved in the king's departure became manifest as soon as it was ascertained to have actually taken place; commissioners being immediately named and appointed to proceed to Scotland, ostensibly to treat with the Scots concerning the satisfaction of the treaty under discussion, but really to thwart as far as possible the king's suspected intentions. The new secretary-of-state, Nicholas, appointed

on the flight of Windebank, had it left to him in charge by his royal master to furnish diligent information, during his absence, of what was going on in London; and his letters, noted and answered in the margin by Charles, and posted back to the writer, form the bulk of the succeeding correspondence. They begin with the king's first letter from Edinburgh, written five days after he quitted London, and continue during the whole of the stay in Scotland. After Charles's return there is a considerable interval in the correspondence, but it is resumed at the period of the treaty of Uxbridge, for which Nicholas was appointed one of the commissioners; and is continued through the vicissitudes and disasters of the war, up to the king's detention by the army of the Scots, and his imprisonment at Holdenby and in the Isle of Wight.

Of Sir Edward Nicholas, who plays so prominent a part in this correspondence, and of whom Clarendon remarks that he was appointed secretary upon the king's observation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation, some brief account may be expected by the reader. He was the eldest son of John Nicholas, Esq., of Winterbourne Earls, in the county of Wilts; was born in April, 1592-3, educated at Oxford, and entered of the Middle Temple; resided some time in France, and on his return to England, directed his thoughts to public business. His first official appointment was in the time of James I. He was named one of the six clerks in chancery; and afterwards became secretary to Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who surrendered that employment to please the king, by enabling him to confer it on the Duke of Buckingham. The duke continued Nicholas in his office, and advanced him to be secretary to the Admiralty. The commissioners appointed to administer the affairs of the Admiralty, on the duke's death, also continued Nicholas as their secretary; and he retained the office till 1636, when Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, being appointed Lord High Admiral, he was removed to the clerkship of the council. This brought him more within the personal view and knowledge of the king, from which resulted his selection for the office of secretary-of-state, when the flight of Windebank left it vacant in 1641. He received his knighthood at Whitehall, at the close of November, 1641, the day after the king's return from Scotland. For his activity and earnestness in the execution of his duties, he had meanwhile become obnoxious to the Parliament, and was one of those excepted in the terms which they offered to the king after he had raised his standard at Nottingham. Notwithstanding this exception, however, they did not refuse to receive him as one of the king's commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. He was at Oxford during the time it was besieged by the parliament forces. On the death of the king he went to France, and afterwards joined the exiled prince at Rouen, on his arrival there from Jersey.

In this service he remained, discharging it at various places in France and Holland, till the treaty of Breda, when Charles went to Scotland. On his return, Nicholas again joined him at Aix; and when the Restoration came, in 1660, he was continued as secretary. In October 1662, being then about seventy years of age, he finally resigned the secretaryship, in which he was succeeded by Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington. He refused a peerage offered him by the king; and retiring to his seat at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which he had purchased of Carew Raleigh, Esq. (son of Sir Walter), died there in September 1669. In the church of that parish are monuments erected to him and his descendants, who continued there till 1749. He left four sons. In 1641, it would appear from the letters now printed, he had a house at Thorpe, in Surrey.

The reader of these letters will scarcely need to be told that he was not only a devoted servant of Charles I., but a diligent and faithful adviser, never scrupling to offer his opinion, and that a conscientious and honest one. It is to the king's credit that he allowed him to do so, commending his openness, though unhappily for himself he did not always attend to the advice so given. It was Charles's greatest misfortune to have had few counsellors so judicious, industrious, and experienced as Nicholas; of such unimpeachable integrity, or of a temper so unambitious and averse to intrigue.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NICOLAS, Your aduertisments to me,¹ is so far from displeasing to me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuer thease incloseds. (I hope ye know by that yesterday that on [one] is to my Wyfe.) So I rest
Your friend,

CHARLES R.

EDEN. 15 Aug. 1641.

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euery dispache, that she may (if she will) wryt; & make one when & as often as she will comand you.

¹ This letter is evidently the first sent by Charles to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to the King's departure. The royal journey was by no means agreeable to the Parliament; for, so late as the 7th of August, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles however, gave

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I haue reseaued your letter : and that you send me from the King : which writes me word he has been vere well reseaued in scotland : and that both the armie : and the people : have shued a creat joye to see the King : and such : that theay say was neuer seen before : pray god it may continued : for the letter that I writt to you counserning the commissionaires it is them that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings absence : I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises of what passes at London : and soe I reeste

Your frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

OATELANDS,¹ the 19 *August*.

Indorsed, "For Mistre Nicholas."

In Sir E. N.'s writing :

"19^o *Aug.* 1641. The Queenes ler to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},
Yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo : Keeper :¹ I forthw^h presented yo^r Ma^{ties}

his assent on that day to several Bills both public and private, and then bade the Parliament farewell. The next day, Sunday, the Commons sat for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Richmond.

¹ Oatlands at this time was the Queen's property, having been granted to her some years before, by the King, for her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son, Henry of Oatlands, was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal mansion ; but the house, which then stood on low ground, was pulled down during the Protectorate, with the exception of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon the Restoration.

² Sir Edward Lyttelton, soon after created Lord Lyttelton. He succeeded Finch, and it was not inaptly said of him that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in

to the Queene, w^{ch} when she had read, her Ma^{tie} comanded me to forbear to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Ma^{tie} said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for y^e delivery of it, as her Ma^{tie} tells me she will by her next satisfy yo^r Ma^{ties}, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Ma^{ties} comaund touching that letter.

*Apostyled in
the King's
writing:¹*

*Ye ar verrie
right.*

Satterday morning the Comittees did set forth towards Scotland,² & that day the Peers adiourned their House till too-morrow: it is conceaved there will not be much business donne now in P'liam't³ untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepcon of their Comittees by yo^r Ma^{ties}, whereon all their eyes are fixed.

The Constable of y^e Tower is commanded by y^e Lo^{des} House forthw^h to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shal be 40 souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, w^{ch} new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yo^r Ma^{ties} absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for y^e present disarming the laws: but, not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had, he was not so fitly qualified for his important trust in such perilous and critical times.

¹ What is apostyled by the King will be printed in the margin of the passages so noted.

² These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negotiate with the Scottish Parliament respecting the affairs of that kingdom. Their real mission was to counteract the anticipated effects of the King's presence in Scotland.

³ Here the Secretary hardly shows his usual discernment. The Commons had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August. Before adjournment also, they had made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

of all Recusants,¹ and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see y^e statutes on that behalf forthw^h put in execucon.

Heerein I
haue tane
your aduyce,
the inclosed
to the Keeper
being to that
effect, onlie I
would haue
you aduer-
tice my wyfe
of it.

Upon consideracon of y^e great ielousies that are rayseed here & spread abroad, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of y^e armyes to y^e preiudice of y^e Parliam^t, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in y^e paying off, & disbanding y^e English armye, w^{ch} hath bene cleerely throughe y^e negligence of those whom y^e Parliam^t hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leaue to offer to yo^r Ma^{ties} consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^{tie} p^rsently to wryte yo^r l^res to the Speaker of one or both Houses, taking notice of y^e delay & sloth that hath bene used in y^e disbanding the armies, w^{ch} have bene kept on foote here to y^e great greevaunce of yo^r sub^{cts} in y^e North, & att a heavy charge to yo^r kingdome in England in g^rall, notwithstanding yo^r Ma^{tie} hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yo^r kingdome of that greevous burthen. Yo^r Ma^{tie} now understanding, that (when by y^e agreem^t wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) y^e Lo. G^rrall hath advertised y^e Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finish that worke, therefore yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to quicken the Parliam^t here, & to let them know how sensible yo^r Ma^{tie} is of y^e long sufferings of yo^r people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart,) forthwith to apply themselves to free this yo^r kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yo^r people here see yo^r care & affec^{on} to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc^{on} on yo^r Ma^{ties} p^rte to make use of the army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

¹ This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.

I humbly beg yo^r Ma^{ties} p'don for this bold & tedious discourse, w^{ch} is noe other than an effect of the dutifull affeccion of

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

most humble & most

obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this packet, I receaved one from Edenburgh, wherein was yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r of the 19th p'sent: I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yo^r Ma^{ties} hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke) touching y^e 4 Irishe regiments,¹ and desire his Lo^{pp} (in y^e others absence) to acquaint y^e Lo^{des} House therewith. Yo^r Ma^{ties} le^r of y^e 19th p'sent I have sent to y^e Queene.

WESTMINSTER, 23^o Aug. 1641.

Under this date, in the King's writing, "EDEN. 28."

Indorsed, "For yo^r Ma^{ties}." And signed by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. "My le^r to y^e King of y^e 23 Aug. 1641. Apostiled y^e 28th."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes² also: So I rest

Your frend,

CHARLES R.

EDEN: 19 Aug: 1641.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from

¹ When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service; but their application was refused.

² Sir John Banks, who had succeeded Sir Edward Lyttelton as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Ambassador¹ for fower regiment, that I cannot now goe backe, for it was asseured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the formalitie of voting: whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Ambassador: wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that thease leauies must not be stoped.

C. R.

Addressed: "For your selfe."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. "19^o Aug: 1641: R. 23^o. His Maties le^r to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

This morning about 6 o'clock I receaved by y^e hands of Mr. Murray yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 22th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper, that yo^r Ma^{tie} is well satisfied wth his lett^r, whereof his Lo^{pp} is very glad, & acknowledgeth yo^r Ma^{ties} great goodnes to him in it.

I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater maters.

Before my receipt of yo^r Ma^{ties} last letter I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in y^e absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) w^h what yo^r Ma^{tie} commanded me, touching yo^r Ma^{ties} engagem^t for transportac'on of 4 regiments of Irishe for y^e service of the Spanishe King, & w^h y^e reasons of it, & his Lo^{pp} having that morning made y^e same knowne to the Lo^{des}, they thereupon had y^e next day a conference w^h y^e Comons House, the result of w^{ch} conference is not as yet reported to y^e Lo^{des} House, but I am tould, that the Comons² are very much against these 4 regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth wth yo^r Ma^{ties} & y^e Houses Declaration

¹ Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.

² On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections principally upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

against y^e Spanyard on behalf of y^e Prince Elector ;¹ & therefore my Lo. Keeper thinkes not fitt to hasten y^e report of that conference : As soone as there shal be any order or resolucon in it by y^e Parliam^t, I shall advertise it to yo^r Ma^{ties}. I sent yo^r Ma^{ties} letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring² by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh: whither S^r Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yo^r Ma^{ties} to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliam^t of any publique nature^s that I can heare of ; but only the order made by the Lo^{des} touching y^e election of y^e present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisem^t to Mr. Thre^r⁴ by myne of y^e 23th.⁵ This day y^e Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an alteration of that their Lo^{des} order but the House would not recede from it in any p^ticular, whereat y^e Lo. Mayor and cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

¹ Charles Louis, Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I., being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

² He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire light horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

³ Again the Secretary is remiss, or at fault. Public business was certainly going forward. On the 25th of August the Lords sequestrated the temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House ; and, on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter, both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

⁴ "Mr. Treasurer," that is, Sir Henry Vane the elder.

⁵ This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London ; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair ; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart., was the then Lord Mayor ; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

They came
heere yester-
night.

There is here great expectation what recepcion yo^r Ma^{tie} will give to y^e Comittees sent hence. I wishe yo^r Ma^{tie} could have soe tymely expedited yo^r affaires there, as that you might have bene reddey to come away before their arrivall there.¹

Yesterday y^e Comons ordered² that y^e pay of Coll. Willmot, Ashbournham, & y^e rest of y^e soldiers (that are questioned in P^rliam^t) shalbe sequestred untill their busines shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of y^e discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by y^e ACT OF OBLIVION Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn,³ & all y^e rest that are questioned with them, are freed and pardoned, w^{ch} he argued so strongly out of the very words of that Act, as y^e sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in y^e iudgem^t of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answer to it: the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that

¹ The names of the Commissioners were Lords Bedford and Howard of Esricke, Hampden, Fiennes, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Armyne. The Secretary seems to entertain a reasonable fear of the King's being brought into collision with such Commissioners.

² Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

³ Jermyn had been especially implicated, by the confession of Colonel Goring, in the alleged plot contrived by certain officers of the army to secure Strafford's escape, and overawe and dissolve the Parliament, by marching the army on London and making the King absolute. Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower, baffled that part of it relating to Strafford; and, a quarrel arising between the leaders of the design, Goring and Wilmot ("Gorrein et Hailmot," as Madame de Motteville calls them in her account of the affair), which Jermyn had in vain done his best to reconcile, Goring made a quasi discovery of the plot to Lord Newark, from whom, through Lords Bedford and Kimbolton, it reached Pym. Goring subsequently asserted that for his own part he had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, and send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's revenue should be established; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive, acts of state. At the same time he professed that his particular object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit "a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers."

Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion : some said that it was not in y^e intencon of y^e House to pardon them, whereupon it was replied that lawes are to be understood according to the words in y^e Act, & not according to the intencon of y^e makers, further than y^e words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison y^e man that printed the scandalous ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishm^t for him, and they have ordered that these ballets shalbe burnt by y^e hand of y^e hangman.

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall¹ will give yo^r Ma^{tie} an account of y^e cause of y^e Qu. Mother's stay att Dover.

Thanke him
in my Name
for his ac-
count.

Albeit this employm^t w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath bene pleased to honour me wthall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to pry into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy y^e comfort of yo^r Ma^{ties} grac'ous opinion & accep- taunce of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vallue any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignoraunce, that conceave there is any other felicity in this imploym^t, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, &

Indeed ye
haue it in a
full measure.

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yo^r Ma^{tie}, & would not write by this dispatche.

I receaved
this yester-
day.

WESTMINSTER, 26^o Aug.

Written by the King, "EDEN. 31, 1641."

Indorsed, "For yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie}."

Written by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.:

"26 Aug. 1641. Myne to his Ma^{tie} apostiled 31^o Aug.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20 : (w^{ch} I receaved yesterday in the euening),

¹ Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

save onlie to thanke for your advertisements: but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my General Pardon,¹ I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my name (in case my Pardon be refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, how I consulted it with the best lawers, to make it of most aduantadge that might bee for all my said people. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there: to w^{ch} end, I com'and you first to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fully in this particular) and according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest

Your frend,
CHARLES R.

EDEN, 25 Aug : 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

I am satisfied with this account.

May it please y^{or} most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},
Yo'r Ma^{ties} of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I p^esently p^esented to her Royall hand yo'r Ma^{ties} l^{er}, & acquainted her Ma^{tie} what you had written to me concerning a Declarac'on; her Ma^{tie} saith that she now vnderstands that y^e Com'ons will not suddainly refuse yo'r Ma^{ties} Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake wth my Lo. Keeper about it according to yo'r Ma^{ties} le^{ter}, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on

¹ This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. The King appears to have wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the wrath of the Parliament, but, unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, he issued this General Pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.

agreeable to yo^r Ma^{ties} direcc'ons, that it may be redy in case the G^ral Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne wth all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to p^epare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lo^{pp} to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Ma^{ty}, & as soon as it shall be perfected to send it for yo^r royal approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that y^e Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and y^e Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till y^e 26th of Octob^r. I humbly desire to know yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure whether when this Declarc'on shall be printed, it may not be fitt to shew y^e same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney,¹ or both, before it be engrossed for yo^r Ma^{ties} hand. I have bene tould that some take excepc'ons to yo^r Ma^{ties} Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl'all cognisaunce, albeit y^e same exceptions is in y^e Pardon of 21^o Jacobi, but I beleeve that this excepc'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that y^e mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr. Percy & y^e rest of his company are comprehended in it. Both Houses have had a conference upon yo^r Ma^{ties} answeare and reasons sent by Mr. Nichols² touching y^e com'ission, and I heare, though many would have bene better pleased that yo^r Ma^{ty} had signed y^e com'ission for their co'mittees, yet they doe not much dislike yo^r Ma^{ties} answeare, since by yo^r grac'ous permission their com'ittees have leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally sent for.³ I have herewth sent yo^r

Show it to both.

I am of your mynd; for their petition to mee was to have it as neer to that of 21 Jacobi as might bee.

¹ Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

² This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th August, had ordered to be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of 1000*l*. was then ordered for the "Commissioner's Charges."

³ The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission; but was "graciously pleased to give leave

I com'and
youto speake
with the L.
Keeper, my
L. Bankes,
and my
learned
Councell,
to see what
course is
best to be
taken to stop
theas inso-
lencies in
tyme to cum.

I willinglie
grant your
desyre.

I receaued
yours of the
2: the 6 of
this monthe,
vpon w^{ch} &
other rea-
sons, to stay
this dispatche
untill the 8;
euen now I
receaued
your of the
4: w^{ch} re-
quyres no
answer.
Eden, 8 Sept.

Ma^{tie} y^e substance of 2 messages delivered yesterday from y^e Com'ons to y^e Peers. The ordinance therein menc'oned touching y^e disarming of Recusants is this day ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yo^r Ma^{ties} deer killed in Windsor forrest neer Egham by y^e inhabitants of that towne & of y^e parishes adioyning, who hunted in y^e day tyme by 80 & 100 in a company: S^r Ar. Maynwaring¹ hath bene amongst them, and wth good words & promises hath made them forbear for y^e p^{esent}. When both Houses shal be adiourned till Octob^r I beleeeve here wil be little or noe busines in this towne, where y^e sicknes & small pox increaseth, and therefore if yo^r Ma^{tie} please to give me leave, I humbly desire to reside att Oatlands or att my house att Thorpe (w^{ch} is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take order that all packets shall w^{thout} any delay or p^{re}iudice be brought to me. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} I would not p^{re}sume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to y^e services yo^r Ma^{tie} hath bene pleased to comitt to y^e care of,

Y^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 31^o Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7^o 7^{bris}.

EDEN. 5 Sep.

Indorsed, "For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

And by the King, "Yours apostyled."

to the said Members to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto." The Parliamentary Debates say, that "these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals;" but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

¹ He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest, within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. See Manning and Bray's *Hist. Surrey*, vol. I. Introduction, pp. xii. xiii.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{ty},

Since my let^r of y^e 26th of this moneth it hath bene here ordered by both Houses of Parliam^t, that out of y^e monny accruing to y^r Ma^{ty} by vertue of y^e last Act of Tonnage & Poundage,¹ there shal be paid for the use of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: and 15 m. for each of y^e other 3 monethes to y^e first of Decembr^r next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a message sent by y^e Parliam^t to y^e Com[']ission^r of y^e Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference between y^e 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the myne of saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet settled for it.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to y^r Ma^{ty}, is by y^e House of Com[']ons (as I heare) declared Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to y^e Citty of London.²

You must comand my learned Councell, in my name, that they doe what they may that the same vote passe not the Higher House.

The Parliam^t here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a recesse on wensday y^e 8th of Sep^{ber} to y^e 26th of Octob^r next, unlesse before that day there shal hapen some emergent busines, w^{ch} it is thought wil be as y^e intelligence from Scotland shall please us here.

The Qu. Mother³ remaines still att Dover, ex-

¹ This was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long arrears due to naval officers, and the provisions in the magazines having been found to be decayed. Part of the money was also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to 57,000*l.*, of which only 1200*l.* as yet was to be appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of 15,000*l.* per month.

² This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the charter granted to them by James the First. *Vide* Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 376.

³ i. e. the Queen Dowager of France. The departure of

pecting (as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) y^e returne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next wil be ye soonest that her Ma^{tie} wil embarque.

You may assure euery one that now all difficulties ar passed heere, as I have co'manded Vane to tell you more at large.¹

All things are like to be now very still here, every mans expectac'on being fixed upon yo^r Ma^{ties} & the Parliaments proceeding there, w^{ch} I beseech God to direct & governe, as may be most for y^e honor & prosperity of yo^r Ma^{tie} & of your royall posterity & all y^r kingdomes, and this shall ever be y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was making up this packet I receaved an order of the Upper House of Parliam^t to Sir Jo.

the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, had been strongly urged forward by the Parliament party. In a curious reprint of Grebner's astrological book, with its observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming, "all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or another."—Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, "a sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged leane decrepit poore Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie of her hard fortune assigned it. She had beene the onely statelie and magnificent woman in Europe."—She had, whilst in England, an allowance of 100*l.* per day; and the Parliament gave her 10,000*l.* for travelling expenses on her departure.

¹ Up to this period, notwithstanding the affair of Strafford, the king appears to have put perfect trust in the elder Vane, to whom his indulgence and favour had at all times been remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, states a curious instance of it; where, speaking of the economy of Charles's Court, he says that "besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the famiij. Sir Henry Vane was the first that I knew in that kind, who, having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at; so as the Court was filled, not crammed."

Penington¹ fo. y^e stay of ships bound for Ireland, a copy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in y^e Downes, I cannot learne y^e certeynty. The Queenes Ma^{tie} tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

WESTMINSTER, 28^o Aug. 1641.

EDEN. 3 Sep.

The King to the Lord Keeper.

My Lo. Keeper,

Y^e answer that I can giue to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfyed wth it : wherefore y^e cheefe subiect of this is, that hauing understood, that y^e Lower House, in passing y^e Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, forgot to reserue that aduantage to y^e merchant in diuers comodities w^{ch} I haue usually granted, therefore I co'maund you tell y^e Citty, in my name, that thoughe their owne burgesses forgot them in P'liam't, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affecc'on to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts ; for as yet I assure you that I have not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest,

Your assured frend,

C. R.

EDEN. 7 Sep. 1641.

I have com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concerning the insolencies com'itted in y^e forest.

The above is in Sir E. N.'s handwriting, and is thus indorsed : "7^o 7^{bris}, 1641. Copy of his Maties let^r to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty."

¹ Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of the period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet ; but against this the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington, at this time, extremely active ; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the royalist writers, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power, of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

In the King's hand :
Monday 20 Sep.

This dis-
pache I re-
ceaved this
morning, but
tell my Wyfe
that I haue
found falte
with you,
because none
of hers was
within it.

Tell him
that I am sa-
tisfyed with
his letter, as
indeed I am
with you for
the con-
tinuall ac-
counts ye
giue mee of
my busi-
nesses.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},
I have by my Lo. Carr receaved yo^r Ma^{ties}
com'aunds of y^e 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon
my let^r of y^e 31th of Aug. last, & have presented y^r
Ma^{ties} to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'uni-
cated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of yo^r Ma^{ties}
grac'ous intenc'on towards y^e merchants that were
not provided for by y^e Act of Tonnage & Poundage,
w^{ch} was most dutifully & gratefully receaved by
y^e Lo. Mayor, who will make known yo^r Ma^{ties}
great goodnes to all y^e merchants of this Citty.
My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes,
Mr. Attorney, S^r Art. Maynewaring & myself, to
attend his Lo^{ps} att his house in y^e country on Mun-
day next, to consider of y^e ryot com'itted in yo^r
Ma^{ties} forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to
prevent y^e killing of any more deere there.

I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a list of y^e names of
y^e Com'ittees of y^e Com'ons House, & y^e instrucc'ons
given to them, w^{ch} I have gotten wth some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of y^e Lo^{ds} met yesterday in y^e
afternoone in y^e Painted Chamber, & those of y^e
Com'ons in y^e Excheq^r Chamber apart by themselves,
& afterwards iointly. All their busines was to
peruse & annsweare le^{rs}, w^{ch} they receaved from my
Lo. G'rall,¹ & their Comittees in Scotland, & to
take order for monnyes for paym^t of the army,
trayne of artillery, and garrisons.² They have
given order to my Lo. Adm^l to send shipps to
y^e Holy Island³ to fetch thence ordinance and

¹ Earl of Essex.

² The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the in-
tention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array,
until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the
"fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle slighted."

³ On the coast of Northumberland.

amunic'on, &c. as yo^r Ma^{tie} by y^e order inclosed may perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have written to y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, that if by their next let^r they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a cobby herewth sent, yo^r Ma^{tie} will perceave y^e course that is here taken for paym^t & discharge of y^e garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy receaved £4000, & is to-morrow to have y^e rest of the monny, for y^e p^sent carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shal be there by y^e 3d or 4th of 8^{ber}, w^{ch} is y^e soonest it can possibly be carried thither by cart.

The Declarac'on of y^e Com'ons House¹ was Sunday last read in y^e parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to y^e sheriffs of all counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yo^r Ma^{ties} prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

I heare y^e Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paym^t & discharge of yo^r Ma^{ties} garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, w^{ch} will require some longer tyme.

WESTMINSTER, 15^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},
According to my advertisem^t yesterday, both Houses of Parliam^t have this day adiourned till 20^o

¹ This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which were enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the east end of all churches and chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

Octo^{br} next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the recesse,¹ & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines is to receave & annsweare all le^{rs} from Scotland, according to instrucc'ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to y^e army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for y^e disbanding of it, & to dispose of y^e cannons and artillery in y^e North, & they are to make report of the whole busines att y^e next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p'fect agreem^t (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioyne wth the Com'ons in orders touching innovac'ons in y^e Church, the Com'ons notwithstanding ordered y^e same to be printed, the particulars of w^{ch} orders are here inclosed.² I heare that the Lo^{ds} & Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse & foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States.³ Upon a report that the Spanish and ffrench⁴ Amb'dors had treated wth diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters,

¹ Lists of those Committees may be found in the ninth volume of the Parliamentary History, p. 536.

² The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons: but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment than they had previously done; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister maintained, at the expense of any parishioners, to preach on various occasions throughout the week, and also on the Sabbath where there was no sermon.

³ This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

⁴ Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against these diplomatic personages; the House of Lords having found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

the Co'mons House sent 2 of their members to each of their Amb'dors, to know by what warr^t they did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warr^{ts}, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

As soone this day as the L^ds House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of le^{rs}, y^e one directed to yo^r Ma^{tie} and y^e whole P^{liam}^t, the other to y^e L^ds in P^{liam}^t; both w^{ch} I have sent now to Mr. Th^rer¹ for yo^r Ma^{tie}. I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} that this le^r may be seene by noe other eye than yo^r owne, for I assure you the houses are very inquisitive after these that advertise yo^r Ma^{tie} of any parliament busines. I hope yo^r Ma^{tie} will now hasten for England, to put yo^r affaires here in good order, the armies being all disbanded but 4 regim^{ts}. I humbly beg your Ma^{ties} pardon for this tedious discourse from,

I receaved yours of the 8: yesterday, this, this day, but tell my Wife, that in nether of them, there was anle from her.

If you would have beene sure of secrecie, you should have inclosed them under my couer.

Be confident I will as soone as I may.

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

It was almost nine o'clock at night before y^e Com'ons did adiourne; but y^e Lo^ds adiourned at 3 in y^e afternoone.

WESTMINSTER, 9^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 13.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting: "9^o Sep^{bris}, 1641. apostil. 18^o."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

The le^r inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yo^r Ma^{tie} an accompt of y^e Q. Mothers landing & recepc'on in y^e Low Countries, by y^e care of y^e Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliam^t here begin to be att some difference one wth another; the Peers take it not well that y^e Com'ons comanded

¹ Sir Henry Vane.

I am not
much sorie
for it.

to be printed an order for abolishing of innova-
c'ons, &c.¹ wthout their approbac'on, & thereupon
their Lo^{pps} caused to be printed a former order made
for observing y^e Booke of Com'on Prayer, whereupon
(I heare) y^e Com'ons made (on thursday night a little
before their adiournem^t) a Declarac'on against y^e
Lords said former order, & some of y^e L^{dds} have
also made a protestac'on against y^e same & entred it
in their house, as yo^r Ma^{tie} may perceave by y^e pro-
testacc'on herewth sent, & by the Declarac'on of y^e
Com'ons House, w^{ch} (I am tould) is sent to Mr.
Th'rer by his sonne, but I cannot here procure a
copp^y it.² I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a copp^y of
an ordinance of both Houses concerning y^e raysing
& transporting of forces out of England and Irland.
By a le^r w^{ch} is sent in this packet from S^r John
Colepeper³ to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent
by young S^r H. Vane to his father,⁴ yo^r Ma^{tie} (if you
call for the y^e same) may see all the passages of y^e
Com'ons House since Munday morning, w^{ch} have
beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yo^r
Ma^{ties} observac'on & informac'on.

I am glad of
that.

You may
now say
confidentlie
in my name
that they ar.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in
Parliament concerning yo^r Ma^{ties} Generall Pardon.
If yo^r Ma^{tie} overcome all difficulties there, & make
firme to you yo^r good people of that kingdome, I

¹ This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to ad-
journalment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the
subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Com-
mons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a reso-
lution "that this House doth not consent to these orders, or
to any of them." The Lords who protested against the pro-
ceedings of the Upper House were Bedford, Warwick, Clare,
Newport, Wharton, and Kimbolton.

² Copies of these Declarations may be found in Rush-
worth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

³ He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

⁴ The elder Vane continued to hold the office of Treasurer
only until the 26th of November, when, immediately after
the King's return, he was succeeded by Lord Falkland. Ni-
cholas seems to desire to convey to the King in a very mark-
ed way the continued relations of intimacy and correspon-
dence existing between the elder and the younger Vane.



LUCIUS CAREY,

VERMONT FALKLAND

F 44

beleeve it will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att y^e next recesse, by carrying a stedy and moderate hand upon yo^r affaires.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will I hope pardon the tedious and empty le^{trs} w^{ch} you receave from,

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 10 Sep^{b^{ris}}, 1641.

EDEN : 16 :

“For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}.”

“Yours apostyled.” 10 7^{b^{ris}}, 1642. Apost. 16°.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r Ma^{tie},

I cannot add any thing of advertisem^t worthy yo^r Ma^{ties} notice since my last of y^e 10th of this present, only I can tell yo^r Ma^{tie} that y^e Declarac^{on} of y^e Com^{ons} (whereof I could not then procure a copy) is now printed, as y^e Duke of Richmond² can shew yo^r Ma^{tie}, to whome I have sent one from y^e Ea. of Portland.³ Mr. Th^rer's l^{er} of y^e 7th present, puts

¹ This was an affair requiring delicate management, though not now so dangerous as it became two years later, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring, any money or specie into the kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

² De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords, not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter. “His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being serviceable to the King, who loved him : the one was, his too great diffidence of himself ; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent ; and by the latter, too obnoxious.”

³ Jerome Weston, second Earl of that title ; a family now extinct.

On the opposite page, in the King's hand-writing.

I co'mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies¹ that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co'mands in this ; & that I am confident of your secrecie in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R.

y^e Queene in expectac'on every howre of l^{rs} from yo^r Ma^{tie} by y^e Lo. Carr.

I have dispatched this as is desired, & tell the Keeper that I expect a speedie account of this letter I send him.

Besides y^e Queenes le^{rs}, yo^r Ma^{tie} will herein receave one from my Lo. Keeper, who humbly prayes yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamshire, as Mr. Th^rer will acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}. I find alreddy that I shall not (now y^e Parliam^t is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yo^r Ma^{tie} wth l^{rs}, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approove myself

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 13^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 17.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I receaved yesterday yo^r Ma^{ties} of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a let^r to the Queene, w^{ch} I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her wth what yo^r Ma^{tie} comaunded me. Her Ma^{tie} tells me she wrote lately by my Lo. Carr,¹ & intends to write againe to yo^r Ma^{tie} on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, w^{ch} I now dispatch for conveyance of the inclosed from my Lo^d Keep^r. I had sent the 2 let^{rs} (w^{ch} were directed to yo^r Ma^{tie} & y^e Parliam^t) under yo^r Ma^{ties} owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such let^{rs} came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed y^e same from Mr. Th^rer, who I was sure had advertisem^t of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliam^t in

And this lykewais is meerlie for the conveyance of thease two inclosed.

Ye had reason.

Eden: 23
Sept. 1641.

¹ Lord Ker of Cesford; son to the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

Scotland, where Mr. Th'rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposit'ons, w^{ch} in my poore iudgem^t is bad newes, and of very ill example to us here.

I humbly thanke yo^r Ma^{tie} for yo^r gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for y^e sickness & small pox contynues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intended to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc'on or ambition soe much, as by an exact dilligence & fidelity to approve myself

Y^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE, 18^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excel^t Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent by packet a let^r to yo^r Ma^{tie} from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yo^r Ma^{tie}, but that the oportunity of safe conveyance by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yo^r Ma^{tie} of some things in my poore opinion worthy yo^r Royall considerac'on.

I am confident yo^r Ma^{tie} doth by this time cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (w^{ch} is generally exceeding distastefull to yo^r su^{bts} of this kingdome) is too much favoured by yo^r clergy here, & in yo^r owne Court, & that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists¹ on yo^r Ma^{ties} governm't) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yo^r Ma^{tie} in y^e esteeme & affecc'on of yo^r people, whose love I humbly conceive to be soe much yo^r Ma^{ties} interest, as that it ought to be

I thanke you
fore putting
me in mynd
of the va-
cancie of
Bishobricks,
therefore I
co'mand you

¹ The "Brownist" schism began as early as the time of Elizabeth; and their founder was able to boast, on his death-bed, that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

to direct the
B. of London
to send me a
list of all the
vacant
Bishobrikes,
& those notes
w^{ch} he & I
made con-
cerning the
filling of
those places.

Brownrigg.

preserved & reteyned by yo^r Ma^{tie} by all possible meanes: wherefore I humbly offer to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it be not requisite, that yo^r Ma^{tie} should now (during this recesse) give some publique assuraunce to the contrary: w^{ch} I humbly conceave may be donne by yo^r p^{re}sent conferring of such Bp^{rick}s and eccles^{call} dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic'on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be Dr. Prideaux,¹ Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & y^e like, if they will in these tymes accept of such p^{re}ferm^{ts}, for I assure y^r Ma^{tie} I am vnknowne to all and every one of them. Such men thus p^{re}ferred, would not only give assurance of yo^r Ma^{ties} firme resoluc'on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but by filling vpp of y^e vacant Bp^{rick}s wth such persons, yo^r Ma^{tie} would gayne not only their votes for Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines p^{re}ferred, would rest confident that there is noe inten'con to introduce or connive at Popery.

Also concerning the booke of Co'mon Prayer, (to partes whereof y^e late Declarac'on of y^e Co'mons House shewes there is some except'on), yo^r Ma^{tie} having constituted such B^{pps}, may be pleased to declare yo^r reddines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yo^r clergy & Parliam^t, w^{ch} will prevent those that (in a zeale wthout knowledge) seeke to overthrow y^e good government & order wisely established in this church: & thus by yo^r Ma^{ties} tymely moderac'on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of y^e reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

Hitherto, I
lyke your
opinion well,
but concern-
ing the rest,

And for a further assuraunce of y^r Ma^{ties} integrity in this reformat'on, I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before y^e

¹ Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were high in the confidence of the Puritan party, and remained steady to their old congregations.

next meeting in P'liam^t) to send away all the Capucins¹ & dissolve their cloyster, for if yo^r Ma^{tie} doe it not yo^rself, I am misinformed if y^e P'liam^t fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yo^r Ma^{ties} hon^r, & more acceptable to yo^r people, & (it may be) safer for y^e Capucins, if in that particular yo^r Ma^{tie} prevented the P'liam^t.

And now I humbly beg yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon for my presumc^{'on} in tendering to yo^r great wisdome these my vndigested thoughts, w^{ch} I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} have beene communicated to noe other person in the world, but are (wthout any p^{'tic}'lar designe) meerely the yssues of my weake iudgem^t & indulgent care of yo^r Ma^{ties} honor, p^{'servac}'on & service, w^{ch} I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE, 19 *Sep^{bris}*, 1641.

EDEN. 26.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Superscribed by Sir E. N. "19^o *Sep^{bris}*, 1641. Apostl. 26^o. his Ma^{tie} thankes me for his le^r and my freedome in it. It was sent by Mr. W^m. Murrey."

I know not what to say. if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parliaments intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say. On the contrair I thanke you for this honest freedome.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent M^{'tie},
Yesterday S^r Job Harby,² & I attended the
Queene about yo^r Ma^{ties} collar of rubies, vpon w^{ch} he

I wonder of this, for he or Crispe.³ assured me before my

¹ This order of Roman Catholic priests had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to form an establishment here.

² He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq., who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

³ This Crisp appears to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the city of London for the King; to which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account, though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.

parting from London that it would be absolutlie free, before Bartholemytyde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking houseuer I lyke the cource now taken by my Wyfe in this.

It is so, & lykes me well.

I lyke your proposition, and shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thanke you for your aduertisement.

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

I command you to send, in my name, to all those Lords that my Wyfe shall tell you of, that they faile not to attend at the downe sitting of the Parliament.

saith there is alreddy 25^{mo}. Her Ma^{tie} hath let him vnderstand yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure concerning y^e disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and S^r Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly imployed in the pawning of it) will forthwth write to y^e partie in Holland wth whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, and if that man will not lend any further considerable som'e, then S^r Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therewth redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get y^e overplus for yo^r Ma^{tie}, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this wth secrecy, and all possible dilligence.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^{tie}, & will I hope give yo^r Ma^{tie} an account of yo^r last let^r to his Lo^{pp}. Yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to procure from y^e P^{li}ament there some further reiterac'on of their declarac'on, that what yo^r Ma^{tie} hath consented vnto concerning y^e election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yo^r Ma^{ties} preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act heere concerning Officers before y^e Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yo^r Ma^{tie} for lief.

I heare that y^e Comittee of the Com'ons hath appointed to take into considerac'on yo^r Ma^{ties} Revenue y^e next weeke, and that they will then set at least twice a weeke.¹ I am vnwilling to give yo^r Ma^{tie} in yo^r great affaires there too long an interruption with the tedious lynes of,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EWD. NICHOLAS.

THORPE, 24^o Sep^{bris}, 1641.

¹ The powers given to these Committees, during the recess, were almost unlimited. In vol. ix. of the Parliamentary History, page 537, a copy of them is inserted.



Vandyke pinx

LUCY PERCY,
COUNTESS OF CARLISLE

OB 1660.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com'aunds, her Ma^{tie} gaue me this paper inclos'd, wth comaund to send it this day to yo^r Ma^{tie}: it was brought to y^e Queene by y^e Lady Carlile,¹ who saith she had it from y^e Lo. Mandeville.² I confesse it were not amise to have it published, but I had rather it should be donne by any other hand than yo^r Ma^{ties} or y^e Queenes, & therefore I could wishe yo^r Ma^{tie} I ~~shall~~ would conceale it for a day or 2, by w^{ch} tyme I know there wilbe other coppies of it sent into Scotland.

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P^{liam}'t a little before y^e Recess, are so distastfull to y^e wiser sorte, as it hath taken off y^e edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings, & I verily beleeeve, that if y^e Houses (when they next meete)

¹ This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, second wife, and, at this date, widow of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle; a famous woman in her time, celebrated by Waller and others, and supposed to have become as intimate with Pym as she had previously been with Strafford. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs, and what Nicholas states of her above seems to exhibit an equal readiness to perplex the affairs of Parliament. But, being upwards of forty, she had now perhaps wholly given up amatory for political intrigues.

² Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montague family, and formerly a personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from the fact that Lord Mandeville was at this time an active member of the Parliament party, and deep in the counsels and confidence of Pym. In the preceding year he had been one of the Commissioners to arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was now best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. A little later, he was impeached with the five members. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise, in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Phillips; he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

shall approve of what was then done, it will loose them y^e reverence that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliame^{ts}.

It were not amiss that some of my scrvaunts met lyke-wais to counter-mynd ther Plots, to w^{ch} end speake wth my Wyfe & receaue her directions.

I heare there are divers meetings att Chelsey att y^e Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym¹ and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P^{liam}^t: & I beleeve they will in y^e first place fall on some plausible thing, that may redintegrate them in y^e people's good opinion, w^{ch} is their anchor-hold & only interest; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers and Counsellors here according to y^e Scottish p^{cedent}, or on both together, & therefore it will import yo^r Ma^{tie}, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting.

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that S^r. Jo. Berkeley & Capt. O'Neale² were come over, & that they had bene the day before privately at Way-bridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to y^e Queene, that I did beleeve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe y^e P^{liam}^t sit not) by vertue of y^e warrant, that was given att first to y^e Sarjant at Armes (attending y^e Com'ons House) to attache them. Her Ma^{tie} seemed

¹ This was a very short time previous to the City riots, and the affair of the London apprentices. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the MansionHouse, "but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented."

² O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the Army Plot; the conspiracy for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, before referred to (*ante*, p. 56), in which Percy, Wilmot, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were engaged. May, in his *History of the Parliament*, p. 65 (Mason's edition), calls O'Neale an Irishman and a Papist; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial. Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the Parliamentary forces.

(when I tould it to her) to app^hend noe lesse, & will I believe take order that notice may be given to them of y^e danger of it, but her Ma^{tie} for y^e p^{re}sent said she knew not where they were.

I wonder at this, for all this last Month every thurd day at furthest I have written to her.

The Queene being now every day in expectac^on of le^r from yo^r Ma^{tie} (having receaved non since tuesday last) doth forbear to write by this dispatch.

Wee know not y^e importance of y^e affaires there that deteyne yo^r Ma^{tie} soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yo^r service here, thought very necessary that yo^r Ma^{tie} should hasten to be here as soone as may be possible before y^e 20th of 8^{bre}; and if yo^r Ma^{tie} leaue behinde you some Councillors that you carryed hence, it is thought yo^r Councells here will not prosper the worse, nor be the lesse secreat, only it may be yo^r Ma^{tie} may thereby deprive some menc^oned in y^e paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence,¹ I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come safe to yo^r Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in iudgement against,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE, 27 Sep^{br}, 1641.

EDEN. 2 Oct.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 20th p^{re}sent, & wth it a le^r to y^e Queene, w^{ch} I forthwth p^{re}sented to her royall hand, & yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 23th of this moneth, & instantly sent away yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to the Queene, & that to my Lo. Keeper. I tould y^e Queene that yo^r Ma^{tie} had blamed me, that in severall of my dispatches there was no le^r from her Ma^{tie}, for w^{ch} she hath now made

Tell her that this dole amends is abundant satisfaction.

¹ The allusion to the elder Vane is manifest here. The Treasurer, however, was now in his northern seat at Raby, having temporarily left the king.

a recompence by sending me two l^{rs}, w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} shall herein receave.

I hope some
day they
may repent
there
seueritie.

The Com'ittees of y^e Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday next. The Com'ons Comittees¹ met, & had before them S^r Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who coming over lately, were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by y^e servaunt of y^e Serjant att Armes (attending y^e House of Com'ons) vpon y^e first war-raunt that was issued for taking of them, & y^e Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

Yesterday y^e Remembrancer of the Citty of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to yo^r Ma^{tie} the humble & dutifull thanks of the Citty for yo^r Ma^{ties} great grace & goodnes in y^e busines of Tonnage & Poundage. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} that yo^r grac'ous le^r concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon y^e affecc'ons, not only of y^e merchaunts, but of diverse others of this Citty.

When ye
shall see
littell Will:
Murray then
ye shall
know cer-
tainlie not
onlie of my
returne, but
also how all
will end
heer.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that y^e Lo^d Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of y^e day when yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe here, to y^e end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yo^r Ma^{tie}, to attend yo^r royall person in this Citty, though he said y^e Citty (being become poore) were not able to give yo^r Ma^{tie} any p^sent according to their custom, I have promised to let them know when yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe here as soone as I shall know y^e certeynty of it. Of all w^{ch} I thought it my duty to advertise yo^r Ma^{tie}, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yo^r Ma^{ties} good pleasure; notwithstanding I humbly conceave it imports yo^r Ma^{tie} to cherish y^e affecc'ons & goodwill of this Citty.

By let^{rs} to partic'lar p'sons (w^{ch} I have seene) dated

¹ The Report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. x. of the Parliamentary History, p. 1. Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to him, at his lodgings in Chelsea, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.

25th 7^{bris}, it is advertised from Edenb. that yo^r Ma^{tie} hath nominated y^e Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever y^e newes be that is come hither amongst y^e partie of y^e Protesters, they are observed to be here of late very iocund & cheerefull, & it is conceaved to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc[']ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceeding here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be

It is London not.

I beline before all be done that they will not haue such great cause of joy.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 29th Sep^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 5 Oct.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

29th 7^{bris}, 1641. Apost. 5 8^{bris}.

This day I received yours of the 1: Oct.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},

These inclosed from y^e Queene & my Lo. Keeper were brought to me y^e last night late to be sent to yo^r Ma^{tie}. I have not as yet receaved from the B^{pp} of London¹ a list of the vacant Bp^{ricks}: I beleewe his Lo^p hath not finished the notes yo^r Ma^{tie} & his Lo^{pp} made concerning that busines, w^{ch} he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leave to put you in minde that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify y^e ielousies of yo^r good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc[']ons to yo^r Ma^{tie}, then y^e good choyce you make of such as yo^r Ma^{tie} shall now appoint to be B^{pps}; & as it wilbe much for yo^r service that y^e new B^{pps} be plausible persons, & beyond excepc[']on, soe there would be a great care had that noe B^{pp} be removed, of whome there is any suspic[']on of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

I dout not but in this to giue good satisfaction.

¹ Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ye may see
by this that
all their de-
synes hit
not, & I hope
before all be
done that
they shall
miss of
more.²

Address
them to the
Duke of
Richemont.

You shall
doe well to
advise with
some of my
bestservants
there how
this may be
prevented,
for I assure
you, that I
doe not
meane to
grant it.

The partie here, who we say hath y^e best intelli-
gence from Scotland (w^{ch} is Mr. Pym & young
S^r Hen. Vane), report that y^e Ea. of Arguile¹ is
Chauncellor of that Kingdome; it seemes it was
soe designed.

I hear Mr. Th^rer is still at Raby,³ & that he
will not returne to Scotl. before yo^r Ma^{ties} coming
thence, w^{ch} makes me humbly to craue yo^r Ma^{ties}
com^dand whether I shall contynue the addresse of
all packets still to him, or to whome else.

I assure yo^r Ma^{ties} it is here resolved (if my intelli-
gence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yo^r
Ma^{ties}, at y^e next meeting in P^rliam^t for y^e like Act
touching y^e eleccⁿ of officers and Councillors here,
as yo^r Ma^{ties} hath graunted to y^e Scots; & in this I
believe yo^r Ma^{ties} will find a more general concurrency
& accord, then hath bene in any one thing this
P^rliam^t; for many here say, that otherwise all y^e
great offices and places of councillors here, wilbe
filled upp wth Scotamen. I beseech yo^r Ma^{ties} to
vouchsafe to consider well of this particular, and be
pleased to conceale that you have y^e advertisem^t of
it from me.

I beseech God to direct & assist yo^r Ma^{ties} and
yo^r Councills soe as you may returne wth honour,
w^{ch} shall ever be y^e prayer of

Y^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE, 8 Octob^r, 1641.

EDEN. 9.

¹ This report was not true, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland; though Charles had been induced to grant him a Marquisate. In connection with the fact that he was afterwards beheaded for high treason (in the year after the Restoration), it is remarkable that in 1651, he had actually put the crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

² From this, and the similar covert threats in the margin of the letter preceding, as well as in others that follow, it is obvious that the King now believed himself in possession of facts involving the probable overthrow of the popular leaders.

³ His own country seat.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com'ands by an apostile vpon my le^r of y^e 24th of y^e last moneth, & forthwth p^esented yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & wth this yo^r Ma^{tie} will receave 2 let^{trs} from y^e Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondency wth y^e Engl. Comittees in Scotland, that y^e Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that y^e Lo^d Amont¹ shall not be Th^rer; &, if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yo^r Ma^{tie} a Lo. Th^rer & some other officers before they will settle yo^r returne, & nothing can brake their designes here but yo^r Ma^{ties} presence; & if yo^r Ma^{tie} do not hasten to be here some dayes before ye next meeting in Parliam^t, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose y^e party that now swayeth; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yo^r Ma^{tie} there till yo^r affaires here be reduced to the same state they there are in. I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e opinion of wise men here is, that to have what officers you desire in that kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yo^r absence hence at this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here: and as for the Lo. Montrosse² & y^e rest, some here (that pretend

Though I cannot re-
turne so
soone as I
could wishe,
yet I am con-
fident that
you will
fynde ther
was neces-
setie for it,
& I hope
that manie
will miss of
there ends.

¹ This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles had certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was obliged to put it into commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

² Montrose, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King.

This may be
trew that you
say, but I am
sure that I
miss some-
what in
point of
honor, if
they all be
not releued
before I goe
hence.

to understand y^e condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that ther innocency is such, as they will not fare y^e worse for yo^r Ma^{ties} leaving them to y^e ordinary course of justice there.

I am credibly assured, that y^e Citty of London growes very weary of y^e insolent carriage of y^e Schismaticks, finding their way of governm^t to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney [Gurney] (according to his right and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notwthstanding y^e opposic'on of y^e factious party, throughe y^e stoutnes and good affecc'on of one of y^e new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while y^e factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to y^e elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & y^e Schismaticks (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced wth hisses, & thereupon y^e Sheriff dismiss y^e Court.

I returne
heerewith to
the B. of
London, not
onlie his
noats, but
also how all
the voide
Bish:¹ ar

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will herewth receave from my Lo. of London y^e notes yo^r Ma^{tie} sent for to him; his Lo^{pp} is soe lame in his hand & shoulder, as he was not able to write to yo^r Ma^{tie}, for w^{ch} he beggeth yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon. His Lo^p desired me to signify that he hath sent yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e same individuall papers & notes w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath formerly seene, because yo^r Ma^{tie} is best acquainted wth them: & he saith that

¹ The new-made Bishops were:

BRISTOL . . Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, of Jesus College, Cambrido.

CHICHESTER. Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ Church College, Oxford.

EXETER . . Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

NORWICH . Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

SALISBURY . Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bishop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince, translated to Winchester.

WORCESTER. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.

YORK. . . John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.

CARLISLE . James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

y^e Bp^{rick} that are voyde have a cipher set before them; his Lo^p alsoe entreated me to acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie} that y^e party whome you had in yo^r thoughts for y^e B^{rick} of Chichester desires to be spared for that place, if yo^r Ma^{tie} soe please, & at yo^r returne he will acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie} wth y^e reason of it.

I have tould y^e Queene what yo^r Ma^{tie} wrote to me touching y^e Collar of rubies, & by her Ma^{ties} co'maund I have sent to speake wth S^r Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yo^r Ma^{tie} a further accompt. I shall have a care to send in yo^r Ma^{ties} name to all such Lo^{ds} (as y^e Queene shall direct) not to faile to attend y^e downe sitting of y^e P^{liam}^t.

The Committees of both Houses met this after-
noone att a conference, they were all bare-headed during y^e conference, both Lo^{ds} & Co'mons by a privatt intimac'on, but if y^e Lo^{ds} should have put on their hatts, y^e Co'mons were resolved to have donne soe likewise. Their conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to y^e Committees in soe great numbers, as they have agreed vpon an order to be forthwth printed for sending them away, a copy of w^{ch} order is herewth sent. Vpon let^{trs} from y^e Lo. Howard, and y^e rest of y^e Com'ittees (advertising that yo^r Ma^{tie} will not come from Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have leave to come home as they desire, wth power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Comittee of y^e Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their let^{trs} have miscarryed, doe now send an expresse messenger wth their let^{trs} to their Comittees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries let^{trs} that advertise all their secret designes from y^e close councills that have beene held here: & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest,

to bee filled in a noote aparte, all wth my owen hand; wherein you ar to obserue two things to him; first that I haue altered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserved my selfe, in my elections: secondly, that in filling the Bish: I haue voided 3 Deaneries, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Rocester, w^{ch} I haue not thought fitt to fill, until my returne, because I am not yet well resolved in anie of them: onlie I intend (if the tymes will suffer it) to giue that of Westminster¹ to him that I intend it should have been B. of Chichester.

¹ Westminster was at present vacant, in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

soe as this wil be wth yo^r Ma^{tie} before him. I beseech
God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy, safe, & ho^{ble} returne,
& soe will euer pray,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 5 : 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN, 12.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

In the King's writing :

"Yours apostyled."

5^a 8^{bris}, 1641. Apostil^d 12^o. By Sr W^m Balletine.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the
Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to
aduertice the Bishops to be heer, so hauing no more
to say I reste

Your assured frend,
HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton,
Deeuonchier, bristoll, Newcastle, Pawlett, Couentry,
Seymer, Cotintong.¹

If you wood writt to bridgeman² to com and to
speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier
and so to as manie as ar your frends : for mene
others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

Indorsed, "R. 5^o 8^{bris} 1641, the Queenes lett^r to me."

¹ The Peers here meant may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names. The last, which has suffered the most, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

² This most probably was Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales ; or it may have been one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Since my last of y^e 7th present, I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds apostiled y^e 2nd of this moneth, & have presented yo^r Ma^{ties} let^{er} to y^e Queene, whereof I have here^{with} sent an aunswere from her Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Ma^{tie} (as you were pleased to comaund) that yo^r Ma^{tie} wished that some of yo^r servaunts here would meete to countermyne y^e plots here, but y^e Queene saith, that cannot be done in yo^r Ma^{ties} absence. I have written let^{ers} to all such Lo^{dds}, as I have had direc^{ions} to send unto, to attend att y^e downe sitting of y^e Parliam^t. Touching yo^r Ma^{ties} Collar of Rubies, y^e Queene wishes that nothing be donne in it till y^e next weeke, when S^r Job Harby saith he shall receave answere to his le^{ter} sent into y^e Low Countries, & in y^e meane tyme I am privatly to informe myself by what warrant that iewell was put into S^r Job Harbyes or any other hands.

I confesse not so well, but yet so much as may doe much good, therefore be diligent in it.

You shall doe well to do so.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will herew^{ith} receave a le^{ter} from my Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland.¹ The insolency & disorders of y^e disbanded souldiers in & neer this towne is soe great, as y^e Lo^{ds} of y^e Councell (who met this day at Whitehall) have thought fit that some course should be forthw^{ith} taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lo^{pps} humbly desire to know yo^r Ma^{ties} pleasure whether a proclamac^{on} shal be issued by y^e Lo^{ds} Com^{issioners} (whome yo^r Ma^{tie} did authorise to set forth proclamac^{ons} upon certeyne occasions in yo^r Ma^{ties} absence) to y^e effect of y^e inclosed printed order of y^e Com^{ittees} of both Houses, (whereof yo^r Ma^{tie} had formerly a cobby sent); but this their Lo^{pps} intend should be without taking any notice of that order, unlesse yo^r Ma^{tie} shall expressly direct that menc^{on} be made of it; in this partic^{lar} their Lo^{ps} pray yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy resoluc^{on} & order.

I thinke it most fitt.

by anie means.

¹ The Earl of Leicester had received the appointment, but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

The principall cause y^e Lo^d meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let^{tes} from Irland concerning Londonderry, whereupon they have sent to y^e Lo^d Justices for further informac^{on} before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} happy dispatch of yo^r great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servant,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 9th Octob^r, 1641.

EDEN. 18.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ty},

I receaved (by young S^r Rob: Pye¹) on Satterday last yo^r Ma^{ties} com^aunda by apostile of y^e 5th p^{re}sent, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne sooner then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst y^e most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yo^r Ma^{ty} will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yo^r Ma^{ty} they give forth, as if yo^r Ma^{ty} were likely to receave but an ill harvest of all y^e paynes yo^r Ma^{ty} hath taken: But I hope y^e happy conclusion of yo^r businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

I humbly conceave that it may be for yo^r Ma^{ties} honour & advantage, that y^e Lo: Mayor of London wayte on yo^r Ma^{ty} att yo^r returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yo^rself gra^{ti}ous to yo^r people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc^{ions} to yo^r Royall person; & therefore I beseech yo^r Ma^{ty}, that by yo^r next I may receave yo^r pleasure, whither I shall intimat to y^e Lo. Mayor, that yo^r Ma^{ty} will expect that he & his brethren attend yo^r Ma^{ty} accordingly: And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse let^{tes} for yo^r Ma^{ty}, when you shalbe on

I doe lyke
well, that
you should
doe so.

¹ Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet; a title now extinct.

yo^r iourney hither, for that I beleeve Mr. Thre'or will not ride soe fast as yo^r Ma^{tie}. The occasion of this dispatch is y^e inclosed from my Lo: Keeper. To the Duke
of Riche:
(Richmond.)

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope yo^r Ma^{ties} next l^{re} will satisfy yo^r good servaunts expectac'on here wth the desired newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} happy & speedy returne, w^{ch} is y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE: Munday 11^o 8^{bris} 1641.

EDEN: 18

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} in myne a let^r from my Lo^d Keeper by packet: and this is to give yo^r Ma^{tie} advertisem^t, that y^e Lo^{dds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councell met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let^r to be forthwth sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} wth their Lo^{ps} advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let^r (a copy whereof for better expedic'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yo^r Ma^{ties} Justices in Irland to prorogue y^e parliam^t there (w^{ch} is to meete y^e 9th of No^{ber}) till february next: the originall under y^e Lo^{ds} hands shalbe sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} as soone as it can be got signed, if yo^r Ma^{tie} shall approve of their Lo^{ps} advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on to send one let^r under yo^r Ma^{ties} hand immediatly from Edenburg into Irland by an express messenger to y^e Lo^{dds} Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose: & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, least y^e former should miscarry or receave delay. The Lo^{dds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of Peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all y^e disbanded souldiers (w^{ch} still pester this city): & for shutting up of all houses

I have done
this alreddie.

infected, for that y^e sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yo^r Ma^{ties} notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best credit here for intelligence & knowledge of y^e proceedings in Scotl:) that yo^r Ma^{ties} will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

I would not have that intention hindered, Cambridge would be best.

For this, I would haue you consult with the Keeper & others of my seruants what to doe in it, leaving it to your discretions to doe as you shall see cause, but I would haue the adiurnement furthered by any meanes. As I haue beene sufficientlie slandered heere, in some respects, so there also I heere that I haue not mist those good offices, though in another kynde, as being resolved, at my retorne, to alter the

There is a whispering here, as if yo^r Parliam^t (when it meetes) would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place: I told my Lo: Keeper this day that if y^e P^rliam^t should adiourne to a further day, (though but for a moneth or two) before they passed y^e Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yo^r Ma^{ties}, (the same being graunted only to y^e first of Decem: next,) it would put yo^r Ma^{ties} to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yo^r house, & for diuers other occasions: and I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac^on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo: Keeper, & some other of yo^r Ma^{ties} best affected seruaunts of either House of P^rliam^t know, what you would haue them to insist upon in case there should be any moc^on for a further adiournem^t, before yo^r Ma^{ties} returne, by reason of y^e sicknes, w^{ch} growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc^on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & for yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & safe returne, there being noe man so much obliged to yo^r Ma^{ties} for y^e grac^ous favour, as

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 12^o 8^{bris}. 1641.

Eden: 18:

Superscribed "For yo^r Sacred Ma^{ties}."

Written by the King; "Yours apostyled."

Written on the back by Sir E. N.: "Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and rec^d back by y^e post boy of Barbican the 23th at West^r at 9 at nyg^{ht}. His Ma^{ties} is constant in y^e doctrine & discipline of y^e Church."

forme of the Church. gouvernement in England to this heere: therfor I com^{and} you to assure all my seruants there that I am constant for the Doctrine & Discipline of the Church of England as it was established by Queene Elis. & my Father, & resolues, (by the grace of God) to liue & dey in the maintenance of it.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ties},

I receaved yesterday yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 9th p^{re}sented by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yo^r Ma^{ties} com^{mand}) addressed this packet to y^e Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th^{er}ers retorne to Court. Yo^r Ma^{ties} com^{mands} me to advise wth some of yo^r best servaunts here, how to p^{re}vent the intenc^{ions} of some here to presse yo^r Ma^{ties} at y^e next meeting in P^{ar}liam^{ent} for y^e like Act touching y^e elecc^{ion} of officers & councellors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yo^r Ma^{ties}, that I conceive it no lesse difficult for me (now in yo^r absence when y^e awe of the Parliam^{ent} is upon all in generall) to discern who are yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here, then it is almost impossible for such yo^r servaunts, to know what to doe or advise, to p^{re}vent soe plausible a designe, w^{ch} in my poor opinion nothing can soe well divert, as yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy retorne: but of this intend forthwth to speake wth the Queene.

If your owne observation doe not sufficiently tell you, lett my Wyfes direction guyde you.

It will be well done.

This inclosed is y^e let^{ter} from y^e Lo^{dds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Murrey¹ I sent a cobby: their Lo^{dds}, as soon as they rose from Councell, (& before y^e let^{ter} was drawne) dispersed themselves to their severall homes in y^e country, w^{ch} is y^e cause (as I am tould), that it was

¹ Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, who often entrusted him with private correspondence. In February, 1646, whilst the King was in the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Murrey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before witnesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commissioners, however, observed something put into his hand by the King; and having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the French agent. The letter was immediately sent up to the Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted to bail after two days' confinement.

this day before it was brought signed to me for yo^r Ma^{ty}. The more secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yo^r Ma^{ty} let^r to y^e Lo^{ds} Justices (if you shall approve of their Lo^{ds} advise) y^e better, & that made me p^rsume to hasten to yo^r Ma^{ty} y^e copy, before y^e let^r itself was signed. I finde that y^e Com'ttees of both Houses (by reason of y^e continuance of y^e sicknes) incline to be very earnest, when y^e Parliam^t meets next, to perswade a further adiournem^t for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that y^e P^rliam^t shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yo^r Ma^{ty} (if you shall stay there past y^e 18th present) will send some direcc'ons to yo^r servants here how to apply their endeavours in P^rliam^t, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournem^t.

I have given sufficient order in all this already.

I have signed it, & therefor see that it be immediately sent over, for tell my Wyfe that I shall loose no tyme in sending to Sr Will^m Boswell¹ as she desires.

I have herewth by y^e Queenes com'aund sent yo^r Ma^{ty} y^e draught of a warrant for yo^r Ma^{ty} hand for y^e delivery of yo^r Ma^{ty} Collar of Rubies to S^r W^m Boswell for yo^r Ma^{ty} use: I tould S^r Job Harby, that S^r W^m was to kepe it till yo^r Ma^{ty} should send for it. The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yo^r Ma^{ty} to be pleased wth yo^r owne hand to give S^r W^m Boswell order what to doe wth y^e said Collar, for it is apparent, that these merchants dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yo^r Ma^{ty} warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

I have tould you in my former Dispatches.

If yo^r Ma^{ty} shall stay long from hence,² I humbly pray yo^r Ma^{ty} wilbe pleased to let me understand wth whome you would have me to advise concerning yo^r

¹ Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. See *Bromley's Royal Letters*, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. *Bromley*, p. 79. He was at that period the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as we find by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

² On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoidably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th.

affaires here, & that yo^r Ma^{tie} would vouchsafe to let them know, how farre yo^r Ma^{tie} would have them to confide in me in any yo^r Ma^{ties} services, that I may have y^e more creddit wth them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be y^e better able to annswere yo^r Ma^{ties} expectac'on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on y^e Queene, to know if her Ma^{tie} hath any com'aunds for

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

THORPE; 15 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN: 20:

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}." By the King: "Yours apostyled."

15^o 8^{bris} 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25^o at 9. at night.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yo^r Ma^{ties} sent by S^r W^m Ballatine¹ were delivered here y^e 18th of this moneth by 4 in y^e afternoone.

Upon let^{rs} from y^e Englishe Com'ittees now in Scotl: to y^e Com'ittee here, relating y^e newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea. of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning y^e Court & Parliam^t there,² our Com'ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, &

I was the lesse carfull to send a perfect relation of this business, because I sent one of whose discretion & knowledg I

¹ Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by *Bromley's Letters*, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained his peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

² This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of "The Incident." See Pym's Report of the Committees on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. x. of the Parliamentary History, p. 5. Lord Lanerick's (or Lanark's) relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this letter; and he adds, that their "abandoning the Court and Parliament" was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives. All that is absolutely known in the matter is, that Charles had summoned these three Lords

was & am so confident, that I thought his discourse of the business as having bene an ey witness would haue satisfied more than anie written relation, therefore I desyre you to call on him in my name to satisfie well affected persones, of the treuth of that w^{ch} passed while he was heere; &, for what hath passed since, I haue directed the D: of Rich: to giue you such an account as there is.

It is now under examination, w^{ch} as soone as it (is) ended you shall besure to haue.

(declaring that they conceaved the same to be a plot of y^e Papists there, & of some Lo^{ds} & others here,) sent p^{re}sented order to y^e Lo: Mayor &c. to dubble y^e gardes & watches of this Citty & Suborbs, & it is thought that this business will this day in Parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the Kingdomes and Parliam^{ts} in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliam^t-men here wth me this morning to know whether I had any relac^{on} of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec^{re}rie Vane, w^{ch} I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yo^r Ma^{tie} notice hereof, & to pray yo^r Ma^{tie}, that there may be sent hither wth all possible dilligence a full & p^{er}fect relac^{on} of y^e present disturbance there, & the cause & grounds thereof, & what upon exaⁱac^{on} it appears to that parliam^t to be: all w^{ch}, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way,¹ & from as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

If Mr. Sec^{re}rie Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narrac^{on} of that busines, it would have given much satisfacc^{on} here, and stopped the causles alarmes that are taken vpon y^e noyse of to attend his Court; but that they not only absented themselves, but quitted the city, and placed their houses in a state of defence; and that on the King demanding an investigation to clear his honour, a secret committee of the Scotch Parliament made a report in exculpation of his Majesty, but justifying the three Lords in the course they had taken. Clarendon says that Montrose had advised and "frankly" undertaken the assassination of Hamilton, his brother Lanerick, and Argyle; and whatever reception may have been given to this proposal (which there is no ground for thinking that the King for a moment sanctioned), it is hardly to be doubted that schemes were now on foot between Montrose and Charles, embracing a simultaneous movement in the three kingdoms, and sufficiently explaining the alarm and excitement of the Parliamentary leaders, especially on the sudden breaking out of the Irish rebellion. It should be added that the friends of Montrose strenuously assert, in opposition to the statement of Clarendon, that his secret proposal to the King was not for the murder, but simply for the arrest, of Argyle and the Hamiltons.

¹ The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

it, that busines being now by y^e relac'on of diverse Scotsmen here made much worse, then I beleeve it will proove in y^e end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yo^r Ma^{tie} this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Ma^{ties} let^r, which shalbe hastened away as soone as I shali receave it. The inclosed from S^r Art: Hopton,¹ I receaved from my Lo: Cottington wth direcc'on to send it to yo^r Ma^{tie}.

Yo^r Ma^{tie} will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble diligence of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this, I receaved for yo^r Ma^{tie} this le^{tr} from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King :

"Those of yours, w^{ch} I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne."

WESTMINSTER, 20: 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 24.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

20. 8^{bris}, 1641. Apost. 24^o 8^{bris}.

R. 30 at 7 at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Captain Smith.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I hope my le^r, w^{ch} I hastily wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yo^r Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receaue a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & y^e rest, w^{ch} all yo^r servaunts here call for very earnestly.

¹ He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but, dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

Of this I much wonder, for on my credit I acquainted nobody with the contents thereof, & am verie confident that none heere knew whether I writt to him or not: therefor I thinke it fitt that you should try as much as may be how this is come, & whether it be an intelligence or conjectur.

Before this, that is satisfied.

I remember that I had some discourse wth the Eng: Par: men about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was after my Lett: was written, if it were serious, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before y^e sitting of y^e Parliam^t, but his Lo^{pp} tells me, that y^e effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he receaved it: w^{ch} is an infinite p^eiudice to yo^r Ma^{ties} affaires here; such anticipation of yo^r Ma^{ties} direcc^{ions} in businesses of importaunce renders y^e same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that y^e perfect intelligence, that is here of all yo^r Ma^{ties} resoluc^{ions} & proceedings there, puts lief and spiritt into some here, who wthout that encouragem^t & light, would (I beleeve) pay more reverence to yo^r Ma^{ties} counsell and acc^{ions}.

When yo^r Ma^{ties} hath made stay y^e disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick,¹ it is here thought fit not to make any order to y^e contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from y^e 15th of this moneth (w^{ch} was y^e tyme appoynted by y^e Houses for disbanding all that garrison) those companies shall have no further pay from y^e Comonwealth as it is called, and concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference wth y^e Lo^{dds}, wth y^e issue whereof I shall acquaint yo^r Ma^{ties} by my next.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com^{itted} to y^e Tower, & Capt. O'Neale to y^e Gatehouse by y^e House of Co'mons vpon y^e old business.² Yo^r Ma^{ties} will herewth receave a copy of y^e let^r sent hither by y^e Com^{ittees} in Scotland, and of y^e order made thereupon y^e day before y^e P^{liam}^t by y^e Com^{ittees} here. I have p^{esented} yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to y^e B^{pp} of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedic^{ion} in p^{erformance} of yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds therein.

The Lo^{dds} Commissioners have given order for p^{erparing} a Proclamac^{ion} for p^{esent} dispersing & sending away of y^e disbanded souldiers,³ as yo^r Ma^{ties} directed

¹ The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish army, upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.

² It was also ordered, the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

³ May, in his History of the Parliament, says that both

by yo^r apostile of the 13th of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yo^r Ma^{ty} this paper, w^{ch} was p^esented to his Lo^p in y^e nature of a protestac^on by y^e persons therein vnder-named: his Lo^p tells me he hath formerly acquainted yo^r Ma^{ty} wth that busines. My Lo: of Bristoll¹ tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there is an intenc^on to question his Lo^p, & his sonne y^e Lo: Digby, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p^rformaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in y^e Com^ons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of B^{pps} in y^e Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, and it is said it will passe both Houses wthin two days. The disobedience against y^e order of y^e House of Co^omons concerning innovac^ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was no way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed y^e same, for that that order was conceived by most in y^e House not to be iustifyable by lawe, & therefore not binding.²

For diversion of this & other mischeefes, I would ye should put Bristo in mynde to renew that dispute betwixt the two Houses, concerning the Parliament Protestation w^{ch} Southamp-ton was so fearse upon.

I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{ty} some notes of y^e effect of y^e conference this day betweene y^e 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great distracc^ons to p^rserve yo^r Ma^{ty} in safety: & I beseech yo^r Ma^{ty} to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac^on of y^e vnhappy interrupc^on of yo^r affairs there, for I find, that yo^r

In this, I hope, this dispache will satisfie your longins, but I belive, not some of your expectations.

the armies, English and Scotch, "quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the severall counties."

¹ The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta, and was afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure; but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the increasing probabilities of civil war now induced him to support the Royal Cause.

² None of these circumstances are stated in the Parliamentary History; yet they are important additions to the record of those times.

servaunts here are much disheartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yo^r hon^r, & yo^r Ma^{ties} owne person. I expected a let^r from y^e Queene for yo^r Ma^{tie} this day, but I beleeve her Ma^{tie} pu[']poses to send her let^r by an expresse; for that there are none come from her Ma^{tie} as yet to be conveyed by

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most
obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 21^o 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN: 28:

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost: 28 8^{bris}.—R. I^o No^{bris}. at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},
I receaved Satterday night last yo^r Ma^{ties} of y^e 18th p^esent, & have safely delivered yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene & my Lo: Keeper: the messenger that was sent wth yo^r Ma^{ties} said l[']ter, (bruysing himself wth a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yo^r Ma^{ties} to me single by y^e ordinary post, w^{ch} made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made known to diverse Lo^{dds} & others yo^r Ma^{ties} pious resoluc'on to mainteyne constantly y^e doctryne & disciplyne of y^e Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yo^r Ma^{tie} hath written) to diverse of yo^r Ma^{ties} servaunts, that yo^r piety therein may be vnderstood by yo^r good people here.

The Queene sent S^r W^m Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im[']ediately from Oatlands wthout calling here, I lost y^e opportunity of sending by him, but I p[']pared my l[']ter of y^e 23th reddy for him, w^{ch} I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to app[']hend that in y^e great troubles there, some of yo^r Ma^{ties} packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yo^r Ma^{tie}

vnderstand, that since myne of y^e 12th (w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{ties} hath return'd) I have sent to yo^r Ma^{ties} let^{rs} of y^e 15th & 18th, both w^{ch} were addressed in packets to y^e D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of y^e 20th & 21th directed to Mr. Th^rer.

I have receaved them all & thease also.

As concerning y^e adiournem^t of y^e P^rliam^t here, my Lo: Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his l^{ter} sent in myne of y^e 21th fully acquainted yo^r Ma^{ties} how y^e expectac^{on} was here frustrated. The Vpper House did Satterday last reade y^e Bill transmitted to them by y^e Comons, for taking away y^e votes of B^{rs}, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwithstanding it is said to be against y^e auntient order of P^rliam^t to bring in a Bill againe the same Sessions, that it was reiecte^d.¹ Yo^r Ma^{ties} best ser-
vaunts here remayne still in great payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any p^efect relac^{on} of y^e late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & y^e rest, & they are the more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of y^e Com[']ons house have coppies of y^e examinac^{ons} taken in that busines, & other aduertisem^{ts} touching y^e same. I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{ties} forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & ho^{ble} returne for Engl: w^{ch} will be most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more then to

It is trew.

Bid my ser-
vaunts make
as much vse
of this objec-
tion as may
bee.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 25^o 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 30.

Written by the King: "I hope this ill newes of Ireland^a may hinder some of theas follies in England."

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

25^o 8^{bris} 1641. Apost. 30 8^{bris}.

Rec. 4^o No^{bris} in y^e morning.

¹ The Lords, however, did not proceed so far, until, on the 22nd of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles "to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein."

² This is an allusion to the rebellion which broke out on

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e 25th of this p^{re}sent 2. let^r by Mr. Elliot,¹ & y^e same night I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 20th, and p^{re}sently sent away yo^r Ma^{ties} to y^e Queene, & delivered that to my Lo: Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yo^r Ma^{ties} warr^t to S^r Job Harby, & hasten y^e dispatch of that busines.

Hen. Vane
wil returne
all those
syned by
mee wth
this Packe
to my L:
of Lon :

I have herein sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a copy of an order made by the Peers concerning y^e jurisdic^{on} of y^e Archb^p. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} by my Lo^d. of London severall Bills for yo^r Ma^{ties} signiture for y^e new B^{rs}, wth a l^r from his Lo^p touching that busines.

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about y^e Parliam^t houses of 100. of y^e trayned bands, besides diverse other watchmen: y^e p^{re}tence is an app^{re}hension of some conspiracy of y^e Papists against y^e P^{ar}liam^t here, answerable to that against some Lo^{ds} in Scotl: & y^e alarme of popishe plots amuse and fright y^e people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is y^e drum that is soe frequently beaten uppon all occasions; & y^e noyse of an intenc^{on} to the 25th of October. The King's memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity with which, upon occasion, news might travel at that period. As for Ireland generally, and the King's notion of the value of a parliamentary mode of government there, it may be worth quoting an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; where, in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, his Majesty is reported to have said, "The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work; it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that."

¹ This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Lyttelton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Lyttelton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been "a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty."

introduce Popery was that w^{ch} first brought into dislike wth the people y^e governement both of y^e Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yo^r Ma^{ties} pious resoluc^{on} to mainteyne y^e doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: w^{ch} I perceave gives very good satisfac^{on}.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on y^e Queene this day, did yesterday move y^e House for leave, & tould their Lo^{ps} that my Lo: Bankes had a co^mmisson dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but y^e Lo^{ds} said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named y^e Lo. P. Seale,¹ whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but y^e Lo^{ds} pressed him not to forbear his iourney, least y^e Queene might take it ill, & soe his Lo^p goes this day to Oatlands, & y^e Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

I comand you to speake with the Keeper & my L^o: Bankes to see if it can bee warranted by anie reule or president that the Vpper House may chuse there Speaker.

Judge Berkley² was yesterday att y^e bar in y^e Vpper House, & there heard his charge read, to w^{ch} he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answeare; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com^{ons} did yesterday by vote declare, that y^e 13 Bishops,³ (who are questioned for making y^e new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in y^e Lo^{ds} House in any busines: & they are this day to have a conference wth y^e Lo^{ds} thereupon, & also touching y^e excluding of all y^e B^{ps} from voting in y^e Bill (w^{ch} is passed y^e Com^{ons} House) to take away totally ye B^{ps} votes.⁴

You shall doe well to put the B. of Lincolne in mynde concerning the pardon I thought fitt those 13 Bps should haue for a pre-munire. that you may giue order to

¹ Henry Earl of Manchester.

² He was Justice of the King's Bench; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and afterwards fined in the sum of 20,000*l.*, besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

³ These were Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

⁴ The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it in-

the Atur: for
it in my
name if he
shall thinke
it fitt.

All yo^r Ma^{ties} best servaunts here pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, conceaving yo^r p^esence would be of very much advantage to yo^r services here, & this is also y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EWD. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 27^o 8^{bris} 1641.

EDEN : 2 : No :

By the King :

"I co'mande you to direct my L: Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamac'on co'manding all Parliament Men to attend on the Parliament.

"Thanke Southampton in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops : &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it mysele."

"For yo^r sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

27 8^{bris} Apost. 2^o. 9^{bris}.—R. 6^o 9^{bris} 1641 at 6. at night, by Mr. Brunker.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

My last to yo^r Ma^{tie} was of y^e 27th p^esent, w^{ch} I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rer. Yo^r Ma^{ties} long absence encourages some to talke in Parliam^t of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in y^e Com[']ons House, that y^e Parliam^t may have the approbac'on of all officers, councillors, amb[']dors, and ministers, and yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e nominac'on.¹ The reasons alleaged for cluded "Bishops and other persons in holy orders." It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, or the execution of "any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission." A pamphlet strongly marking the direction of the public feeling was at this time industriously and widely circulated, under the title of, "Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops."

¹ A highly figurative and elaborate speech was made on this occasion by "Master Smith, of the Inner Temple," which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes: "Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this kingdom; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like

it were, first that it had bene soe heretofore, & soe is conceived to be an auntient right: 2^d that y^e ill effects that have bene by y^e councells & acc'ons of olde officers, councellors, &c. & y^e feares that there may be y^e like by the new; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well p^eserved as purged. 3^d that yo^r Ma^{tie} did heare partic'lar & privat mens advise in y^e choyce of yo^r offi^{rs}, councellors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac'on for yo^r Ma^{tie} to take therein y^e advise of y^e P^{li}ament. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good conscience supply yo^r Ma^{ties} necessities: after a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com'ittee to p^epare forthwth heads for a pet^{on} to be p^esented to yo^r Ma^{tie} to receave the P^{li}am^{ts} approbac'on of such officers, councellors, &c. as yo^r Ma^{tie} shall choose, for better p^evinc'on of y^e great & many mischeifs that may befall y^e Comonwealth by y^e choyce of ill councellors, officers, amb'dors & ministers of state, w^{ch} pet^{on} is to be ripened wth all speede & to be p^esented to y^e House: there appeared soe many in y^e Com'ons House against this busines, that some conceive that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it: howsoever I may not forbear to let yo^r Ma^{tie} know, that the Lo: ffalkland, S^r Jo. Strangwishe,¹ Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne, & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'nce of yo^r Prerogative, and shewed for it unaunswerable reason & undenyable p^esedents, whereof yo^r Ma^{tie} shall doe well to take some notice (as yo^r Ma^{tie} shall thinke best) for their encouragm't.

I co'mande
you to doe it
in my name,
telling them
that I will
doe it my-
selfe at my
returne.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of y^e those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse." He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary "so to provide that the Mæcenass of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on."

¹ Sir John Strangeways, knt. of Melbury Stampford, Dorsetshire.

On the con-
traire I com-
mand you to
take order
that these
Billes bee
expedited
that they
may with all
possible dili-
gence attend
the Parle-
ment.

new B^{ps}¹ that are now making, some did mervale that any man should move yo^r Ma^{tie} for making of B^{ps} in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a pet^{on} or message to be sent to pray yo^r Ma^{tie} to be pleased to stay y^e constituting of any more B^{ps} till y^e busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned: but this moc'on was not resented in y^e House, & soe y^e discourse thereof fell.²

There was yesterday a great debate in y^e Upper House about y^e Bill for taking away y^e B^{ps} votes, & it was very doubtfull, after a long dispute, w^{ch} side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off y^e further debate thereof till y^e 10th of Nov^r next, before w^{ch} tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallidity y^e impeachm^t against y^e 13 B^{ps} will proove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficyent to move yo^r Ma^{tie} to hasten yo^r returne & I shall take y^e boldnes to ad to it one more, w^{ch} I observed at y^e Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford³ moved y^e Lo^{dds} (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th'rers let^{tr} to me, viz. that he did hope y^e P'liam^t of Engl. would interpose & hasten yo^r Ma^{ties} returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to

¹ The superstitious feeling which entered largely into all the judgments of political events at this period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return: "It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, 'No Bishops!' Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds receaved at that tyme: it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's head was cut off, the Scaffold standing just over that place."

² The Parliamentary History asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

³ Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

move y^e P^riam^t here to that purpose; most of y^e rest of y^e Lo^{ds} of y^e Councelle declyned it, in regarde y^e le^r was not written to y^e Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th^rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe; whereby I observe that every one of yo^r Ma^{ties} Pr. Councelle is not fond of yo^r speedy returne hither. Yo^r Ma^{tie} can best make iudgm^t by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

I have delivered yo^r Ma^{ties} warraunt concerning yo^r Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into y^e Low Countries for delivery of y^e same accordingly wth all dilligence possible. The Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yo^r Ma^{tie} wthin a few dayes, w^{ch} I beleeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yo^r Ma^{tie} this afternoone.

I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yo^r Ma^{tie}, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that l^trs that come to yo^r Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view: albeit this shall not deterre me from p^rformaunce of my duty in advertising yo^r Ma^{tie} of all things that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yo^r Ma^{ties} service, yet I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to keepe to yo^rself what I take y^e freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, w^{ch} I humbly conceave to be y^e duty of,

It is a Ley.

I shall.

I receaued this on Wednesday last. When ye deliver this inclosed to my Wyfe, desyre her not to open it but when she is alone.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 29^o 8^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN. 6 Nov.

Apost. 6^o 9^{bris}.—Re^d 11^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Tho. Killegrew.¹

¹ This is the gentleman of facetious memory, generally known only as the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice. At this period he was, or had been, page to

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^t Ma^{tie},

The 29th of y^e last moneth I sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a lt^r in a packet adressed to Mr. Th^rer, & on Satterday last about 7 at night I receaued by Capt. Smith¹ yo^r Ma^{ties} co'maunds apostiled 24^o 8^{bris}, & according to yo^r Ma^{ties} co'maunds I gave him yo^r Ma^{ties} lt^r to p^esent it to y^e Queene. The relac'ons w^{ch} are here made by any that come from thence, are (for y^e most p^{ie}) varied & reported afterward by others according to y^e sence and affec'on of each several audito^r, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report y^e worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not, wherefore I humbly conceave, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse subiect to mistakes & misreports: & I hope when y^e examinac'ons of y^e late disturbances there shalbe published, y^e same will cleere all doubts, & giue honnest men full satisfact'on. I have shewen y^e Queene & some Lo^{dds} the cobby of Marq: Hamiltons 2. & 3^d lt^{rs} to yo^r Ma^{tie}, whereby he begs yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon, w^{ch} argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly

Charles the First; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters; particularly where the Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killegrew, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.

¹ This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the Battle of Edgehill, on the 22nd of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and retook it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and received soon after a large gold medal, "with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, cross his shoulders." He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

thanke yo^r Ma^{ty} that you have bene soe carefull of yo^r faithfull servaunt, as to burne all such of my l^{rs}, as you returne not to me apostiled, w^{ch} soe much concerns my safety, as I assure yo^r Ma^{ty}, I have bene warned by some of my best freinds both there and here, to be wary in my advertisem^{ts}, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have, inclosed, sent yo^r Ma^{ty} y^e copy of an order¹ of y^e Parliam^t concerning their abundant care of y^e Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof were delivered at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland² to y^e Queene, who (I heare) gave

¹ A conference took place on this subject between the two Houses, wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands; and though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner. When the message was sent to the Queen, she made answer that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

² Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the *Loyal Martyrologie* by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle: yet, after that date, says Winstanley, "when the Long Parliament began to sit, and religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them; but afterwards perceiving that they made religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest." Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master

a very wise and discreete answeare to y^e same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}.

Do you it in
my name.

I have syned
it, but I will
not haue you
to make use
of it but as
my Wyfe
shall direct
you.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on then Mr. Percyes to have debauched y^e late Army, but what it is I cannot learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to me this day to acquaint yo^r Ma^{tie}, that y^e p^esent new Lo. Mayor lately sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in y^e com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that y^e comiss'on be renewed & his Lo^p put into it, w^{ch} may soone be donne, if yo^r Ma^{tie} please to signify yo^r pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The B^p of Chichester humbly desires yo^r Ma^{ties} licence to be absent from P^{liam}^t, for w^{ch} pu'pose I have (at his Lo^ps request) herein sent a warr^t for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by y^e Com'ons that there should be heads p^epared for a conference concerning a pet^{on} to be sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} to stay y^e making of y^e new B^ps, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn't of Ireland of a rebellion in y^e north of that kingdome, raysed (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire¹ is one of y^e chiefest; I have not seene y^e le^{ter} concerning it, but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Ma^{ties} Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were wth y^e House of Com'ons to advise concerning it as I heare: I beleeve yo^r Ma^{tie} hath before this receaved advisem^t of y^e certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Councell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yo^r Ma^{tie} an account, what they have advised upon when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was "a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons."

¹ He was brother to the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

herein : if their Lo^{ps} doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see y^e l^{tes} or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yo^r Ma^{ties} in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p^{ar}tic^ulars.

If yo^r Ma^{ties} could settle yo^r affaires well there, soe as yo^r might be here y^e next weeke, yo^r best servaunts here conceive it would then be in yo^r Ma^{ties} power, by yo^r presence, to bring this P^{ar}liam^t to a reasonable good conclusion, w^{ch} that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever y^e earnest prayer of,

I hope this next weeke will put an end to this Parliament, so that ye may expect me by the 20 : of this monthe.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, Munday 1^o No^{br}. 1641.

EDEN : Satterday : 6.

"For yo^r Sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost : 6 : 9^{br}.—Rec^d 11^o 9^{br}. by Mr. Tho : Killegrew.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^{nt} Ma^{ties},

Since my lt^r sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have receaved by Mr. W^m Murray yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by apostile of y^e 28th of Octob^r & have delivered yo^r Ma^{ties} to my Lo. Keeper, together wth a packet from Mr. Th^{er}er, conteyning y^e exaⁱac^ons of y^e busines touching Marq. Hamilton, &c. All w^{ch} were this morning read at y^e Councill Boorde, whereupon their Lo^{ps} resolved for y^e p^{re}sent to make knowne in the generall, that they had receaved a faire dispatch concerning that busines, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion ; & their Lo^{ps}, being then to goe to y^e Parliam^t House about y^e Irishe busines, sealed upp y^e examinac^ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of y^e same, & to advise in what manner to acquaint y^e Parliam^t therewth. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten^{nt} of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yo^r Ma^{ties} an accompt of all y^e partic^ulars touching y^e Rebellion

in that kingdome,¹ wth y^e Parliam^t here takes to hart, & there is a Com[']ittee of 12 Lo^{ds} together wth some of y^e House of Com[']ons appointed this evening to goe into London to treat wth y^e Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com[']on Councell to borrow 50^m. to be forthwth sent to Irland, to pay & encourage y^e old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately taken up to make head to y^e Rebells, for wth somes y^e Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliam^t, both for principall & interest.

It is said that one Owen Conelles² (a servant of S^r Jo. Clotworthies) for making y^e first discovery of y^e Rebellion, & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by y^e P[']liam^t wth y^e gift of 500^l presently, & berecommended to yo^r Ma^{ty} for a penc[']on of 200^l. There is a Com[']ittee of ye Peers appointed to peruse all l^{rs} that are come out of Irland, to consider of y^e p[']sent state of Irland, & to further ex-amyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by y^e Comons, who are to be p[']sent at y^e examinac[']on, & y^e same Comittee is further to consider of y^e Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quality & not convicted: the Lo. Lieut['] of Irland is desired by y^e Parliam^t (as I heare) to get together some Cap['] and Off['] here of Englishe to send over forthwth into Irland, & his Lo^d himself is pressed to hasten over wth all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of y^e

¹ In vol. vi. of *Somers' Tracts*, p. 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.

² Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the "Great Earl of Tyrone," on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that both the gift and the annuity were voted to him by the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the self-denying Ordinance.

Queenes priestes) was com'itted by y^e Lo^d of Parliam^t for refusing to be sworne vpon y^e Bible, saying it was a false translac'on.¹ There is to be too morrow a conference between y^e 2 Houses, vpon severall heads; 1. touching y^e dissolving of y^e Covent of Capuchins; 2. about y^e list of y^e Queenes priests; 3^d. about a list of y^e Princes servaunts, to y^e end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed; 4^d. about y^e governm^t of y^e Isle of Weight, that y^e same may be sequestred.² If y^e Houses of Parliament were full it is conceaved it would be much for y^e advantage of yo^r Ma^{ties}, & y^e good of the kingdome, & therefore I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^{ties} to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a proclamac'on to be forthwth issued to require all y^e members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend y^e Parliam^t in person to consider of such affaires as concerne y^e peace & good of this kingdome & other yo^r Ma^{ties} dominions.

I belive that I have done this in a former dispatch, but in all euent I co'mand you to re-iterate to the Keeper, in my name.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be wth hon^r & safety shalbe y^e dayly prayers of,

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Com'ons are p^eparing a declarac'on of y^e state

¹ On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand. Orders were also given that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, charged with selling protections: first refusing the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself; and, when the Bible was brought, saying, "that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him." His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

² The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island, and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.

of y^e kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliam^t.

WESTMINSTER, 2^o No^{bris}, 1641.

EDEN : 9.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost : 9^o 9^{bris}.—Rec^d 15^o 9^{bris} by Mr. Arth : Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

By my last I bade you expect mee on the 20: yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but be assured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall sett out from hence on the 18: without faile: & for warning my Lo. Maior, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knowes when I shall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to London.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},
By my let^r of y^e 2^d of this moneth I advertised yo^r Ma^{tie} of y^e arrivall of Mr. W^m Murrey, & since he brings no certeyne news when yo^r Ma^{tie} intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yo^r Ma^{tie} in minde, that y^e Lo. Mayor & Cittizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yo^r Ma^{tie} will come to this towne, that they may have y^e hono^r to waite on yo^r Ma^{tie}. There came l^{trs} yesterday from Irland w^{ch} confirme y^e newes of y^e Rebellion there, & say that the Rebells are come wthin 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to y^e Englishe Protestants, and have donne much mischeif alreddy in y^e country :—There is order here for sending p^sently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland : and S^r Ja. Ashley,¹ & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthwth to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from y^e Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yo^r Ma^{tie} att p^sent, but that I assure yo^r Ma^{tie} yo^r presence here is now extreame necessary,²

¹ Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal ; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King; yet he joined the Parliam^t forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliam^t.

² It is a fact deserving notice that the leading party in the

as well for yo^r affaires here, as in Irland: & I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy & safe returne, w^{ch} none desires more then

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 3^o No^{br} 1641, att 9. at night.

EDEN. 9.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by y^e Queene, & this morning I receaved yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by apostile of y^e 30th of 8^{ber}. I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{tie} a let^r from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th^rer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt; My Lo. Keeper desir'd me wthall to send to yo^r Ma^{tie} y^e informac'on inclos'd, w^{ch} his Lo^p receaved (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since y^e same was made vp, that yo^r Ma^{tie} may be pleased to take them into considerac'on.

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sheriffs untill my cuming home, so that for the present there is no neede of his information.

The Lo^{dds} of your Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here have heard read all y^e exia'cons concerning Mar: Hamiltens, and y^e Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they receaved noe direcc'ons to com'unicate those exa'iac'ons to any other then to yo^r Privy Councell, they thinke not fitt to publishe y^e same, otherwise then by declaring (to such as they shall have occasion to speake wth about that business), that they finde nothing in all those exa'iac'ons, that in any sorte reflects vpon yo^r Ma^{ties} hono^r. The exa'iac'ons, themselves are by their Lo^{ps} left in my hands vnsealed, that any of y^e Lo^{ds} of yo^r Privy Councell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of y^e same, & y^e Lo^{dds}

They neede to doe no more. but as they haue & resolute to doe.

House of Commons were now as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.

There needs
no more.

willed me to signify to Mr. Th'rer, that if yo^r Ma^{ty} please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc'ons therein. I have com'unicated to y^e Lo^{ds}, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3^d le^{tr} to yo^r Ma^{ty}, w^{ch} doth give great satisfacc'on here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy business doth in y^e least manner reflect on yo^r Ma^{ties} hono^r.

The Parliam^t here takes to hart y^e Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affec'con to yo^r Ma^{ties} service in that partic'lar. They have resolved (as my Lo. Keeper desired me to signify to yo^r Ma^{ty}) to send thither 6000 foote & 2000 horse; whereof 2000 foote & 500 horse presently; & they are borrowing of y^e Citty 50^{m.l.}, w^{ch} they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have y^e same to supply other paym^{ts}, they are now sending away 20^{m.l.}, w^{ch} they have reddy in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yo^r Ma^{ty} l'trs touching y^e Irishe Rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that business, and will himself speedily give yo^r Ma^{ty} an accompt of yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds, w^{ch} he receaved this day in y^e packet of y^e 30th of 8^{ber}. I assure yo^r Ma^{ty} I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath anything to doe in affaires) to p^eserve himself & his reputac'on: but I hope yo^r Ma^{ty} will protect yo^r faithfull servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dilligence endeavour to serve you, as will ever

I shall not
faile to pro-
tect you ac-
cording to
my Power,
& (according
to the owld
Englishe
compliment)
I would it
were heiter
for your
sake.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

There is an Act passing for pressing of soldiours for Irland, w^{ch} hath bene twice read, and is now in y^e Comittees hands.

WESTMINSTER 4^o No^{bris} 1641.

EDEN: 9.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ty}."

"Yours apostyled."

Apost. 9^o 9^{bris}.—Rec^d 15^o November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

I wrote to yo^r Ma^{tie} by packet y^e 4th of this No^{ber}, & this now is to convey y^e inclosed from my Lo. Keeper: I hope it will meete yo^r Ma^{tie} on y^e way, for that I heare it said, that yo^r Ma^{tie} will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr^{er}, w^{ch} otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aund) to my Lo^d Duke.¹ If yo^r Ma^{tie} doe not hasten hither, I doubt y^e p^eparations for Irland will goe on but slowly,² & soe may come too late to p^event great mischiefs there, notwthstanding y^e care of our Parliam^t. Here are besides (I assure yo^r Ma^{tie}) other affaires that highly import yo^r Ma^{ties} hast hither: If yo^r Ma^{tie} please to give leave to my Lo. Mayor & y^e Cittizens here to wayte on you into this towne, I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to com'aund that timely notice may be given of y^e day, that they may provide for it, for y^e lest of y^e Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yo^r Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} I humbly conceave it will not be convenient to declyne.

I humbly pray for yo^r Ma^{ties} happy and speedy returne, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER. 6^o No^{bris} 1641.

EDEN: 13:

¹ Duke of Richmond.

² Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

³ It is difficult to ascertain why the King should express himself as though there might be some doubt as to who held the office. Essex was Lord Chamberlain until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

I onlie now repeate what in a former I sayd, that you receave order from my Wyfe for this. what day it shall be; with this addition, that you direct my Lord Chamberlaine (I meane Essex)³ to wait on my Wyfe, who will giue him directions what Howses he shall prepare for my vse against my returne.

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other let^{er} to yo^r Ma^{tie}, happening wth y^e opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my let^r safe to yo^r Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic^{on} to my former let^r that yesterday in y^e Comons House, it was moved to send instruc^{cons} to y^e Englishe Com[']ittees, to let yo^r Ma^{tie} know, that y^e Parliam^t here finds that ill counsellors have bene y^e cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe pleased to discharge y^e ill Councillors that are about you & to take such as y^e kingdome can confide in, the Parliam^t doth hold itself absolvd from giving assistance for y^e busines in Irland: Some that found fault wth this expression were chequed, but there was noe p[']fect resoluc^{on} in this, but y^e further considera^con thereof was put off to a further day.¹

I write this that yo^r Ma^{tie} may see how extreemely necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to keep to yo^rself this addic^{on}, & to burne this let^r, w^{ch} is now sent you from

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 6^o No^{br}is 1641,
a^{tt} 12 a clock at noone.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},
Since myne of y^e 6th p^esent sent by Mr. Greene a

¹ This is a remarkable fact, not stated in the Parliamentary History, nor in the other ordinary records. It is also worth notice that the Secretary does not mention the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, "if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done anything against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence," &c The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.



1850

1850

1850

servant of y^e D: of Richmonds, I receaved y^e same night here at Oatlands yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 2^a, and have sent yo^r Ma^{ties} I^re to y^e B^{ro} of London together wth y^e Bills signed for y^e new B^{ro}. I shall carefully p^rformeall yo^r Ma^{ties} com'aunds by yo^r last, & render yo^r Ma^{ties} a speedy account of y^e same. My Lo: Keepersent methisevening this lett^r to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^{ties} wth all dilligence, w^{ch} is y^e principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r Ma^{ties} to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lett^rs, for I perceave by y^e strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs lett^r, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r Ma^{ties} will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r Ma^{ties} to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r Ma^{ties} a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r Ma^{ties} was never more welcome to y^e better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleeve y^e whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r Ma^{ties} happy returne, w^{ch} wilbe y^e best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e eares of

I returne
this onlie to
show you
that I am
carefull to
doe what you
desyre.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

OATLANDS, 7^o Nov^{bris} 1641.

EDEN. 13.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a letter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussinesse of the bishops: having heard that Carnaruen¹ is in is owne

¹ Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. It is stated in *Bromley's Letters*, that his Countess was niece to Sir Richard Browne; but how, does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pem-

hous some twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will cary your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest,

Your assured friend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R. 8th Nov^r 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.¹

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ty},

Yesterday I sent yo^r Ma^{ty} a l^{tr} from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rer. This day the Com^{ons} House considered of y^e heads of y^e instruct^{ions} to be sent to y^e Englishe Com^{ittees}, & after a long debate, they voted y^e same in y^e House, w^{ch} was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instruct^{ions}, amongst w^{ch} there is one head to y^e effect, (but a little quallified,) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those instruct^{ions} (I am tould) are to be transmitted to y^e Lords.

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

It is here reported by those who have y^e speediest & certeynest advertisem^{ts} from Edinburg, that yo^r Ma^{ty} will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warr^{ts} for y^e new B^{ps} are passing as fast as may be: I this day put y^e Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne.²

I have signified yo^r Ma^{ty} pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to issue a Proclamac^{on} that all Parliam^t men attend in P^{liam}^t, but his Lo^{ps} saith a Proclamac^{on} must issue in y^e ordinary way, and be first signed by yo^r Ma^{ty}, wherefore I have by his Lo^{ps} advise this day

broke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that "he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven!"

¹ This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up omissions in the Parliamentary History of the period.

² These appointments did not take place.

sent a warr^t accordingly to yo^r Ma^{ties} Attorney, to p^epare such a Proclamac[']on for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature, w^{ch} as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yo^r Ma^{ties}. The Ea. of South^{ton¹} hath bene in North^{ton¹}: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lo^p wth what yo^r Ma^{ties} hath comaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into y^e Com[']ons House, and there read, a Declarac[']on of y^e state of y^e affaires of this kingdome, w^{ch} relates all y^e misgovernmen^t and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsells (as they call it) since 3^o of yo^r Ma^{ties} raigne to this p^esent, and it reflects soe much to y^e p^eiudice of yo^r Ma^{ties} government, as if yo^r Ma^{ties} come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe y^e issue of it: for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc[']on to have iustefyed the proceedings of this P[']liam^t, they would not have begun soe high as 3^o. The further considerac[']on of this Declarac[']on is to be had too morrow in y^e House of Com[']ons. If yo^r Ma^{ties} shall not be pleased to keepe to yo^rself what I have written, and to burne this let^r, I may be lost. Yo^r Ma^{ties} cannot so much p^eiudice yo^rself, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished,) as you may now by delaying yo^r Ma^{ties} returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r best servaunts here: God send yo^r Ma^{ties} a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes

You must needs speake with such of my servants that you may best trust, in my name. that by all meanes possible this may bee stoped.

I shall most carefully.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

EDEN. 13.

WESTMINSTER, 8. No^{bris} 1641.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

8^o No^{bris} 1641. Apost. 13^o. 9^{bris}. Rec. 18. 9^{bris}.

Sent by Sir H. Hungate.²

¹ Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

² Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maister Nicholas, I am vere sorry that my lettre did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I would haue him go backe againe: to scotland without comin yer for a would haue him go to marow morning: tel him from me: but if he wher not well then you must provide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost: and I would not trusted to and ordinaire poste: I am so ill provided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I haue no living creature that I dare send: pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Vill Murray can not go to send this letter, and so I rest,

Your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For your selfe."

R. 10^e No^{bre} 1641. The Q: that I should send an expr:
M^{re} w: her le^{te}.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

My last was by S^r Hen: Hungate, w^{ch} I hope will come safe to yo^r Royall hands; & I now send this expresse by y^e Queene's com'aund to convey her Ma^{ties} l^{et}r, for her Ma^{tie} saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yo^r Ma^{tie}; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring y^e much desired newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne.

I have spoken wth y^e B^r of Lincolne about yo^r Ma^{ties} pardon of y^e 18 B^r for y^e Premunire, & his Lo^p saith he wissheth that y^e pardon to them may be

"Sir H." appears in the Baronetage; therefore the person alluded to, afterwards mentioned as Sir Henry, must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

generall for all things else aswell as for y^e Pre-
munire, whereof his Lo^p will consider better, & With all my hart.
then I shall give yo^r Ma^{ties} a further accompt of that
partic^lar. My Lo. Keeper tells me that there are
many precedents, that y^e Peers in P^liam't have
chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill y^e Lo.
Burleighes later tyme, there is scarce any Record,
that y^e King hath by l^t^rs p^{at}tents appointed a
Speaker for that House. Yo^r Ma^{ties} (I beleewe) hath
heard that both Houses of Parliam^t made an Ordi-
nance Satterday last, that y^e Lo. Lieutenant of
Irland shall forthwth rayse Volontiers here in Engl.
to be transported for suppressing y^e Rebellion in
Irland: yesterday his Lo^p acquainting some Par-
liam^t men, that he doubted whether he might rayse
men wthout warr^t vnder y^e Great Seale, his Lo^p
doubt was made knowne in y^e Com[']ons House, and
thereupon it was in that House declared, that an
Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warr^t for
his Lo^p levying of Volontiers by beating of the
drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac[']on was
accordingly made in the register of that House.
I heare that it is written from Irland, that y^e Rebels
there giue forth, that they expect yo^r Ma^{ties} every
day att Don Luce,¹ w^{ch} is a calumny raysed by them
much to yo^r Ma^{ties} dishonor & disadvantage, only
to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindi-
cated. The Declarac[']on remo[']strating y^e effects of
yo^r Ma^{ties} ill Councells, was yesterday by y^e Com[']ons
House taken againe into considerac[']on, & a 4th parte
thereof gonne thorow wthall & voted there, & y^e rest
of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it
is to be transmitted to y^e Lo^{ds}. There was yester-
day a considerac[']on in y^e Upper House concerning Com[']and
the Keeper
in my name
that he
warneall my
seruants to
oppose it in
the Lords
House.
excluding y^e Papists Lo^{ds}, & after a long debate that
business was let fall, only there was an Order made
that y^e lawes against Recusants should forthwth be
put in execuc[']on. Mr. Attorney² (according yo^r
Ma^{ties} pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Pro-

¹ Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county
of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim; now in ruins.

² Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

This bearer
will fully
satisfie you
in that.

clamac'on, to comaund all Parliam^t men to attend in Parliam^t, & having shewed it to my Lo. Keeper, his Lo^p (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes y^e draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac'on, & that he will shortly satisfie yo^r Ma^{tie} therein. I beseech God to send yo^r Ma^{tie} a speedy & happy returne, wherein all yo^r Ma^{ties} best servants here ioin in prayer wth

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servant,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The cause concerning y^e 13 B^{ps}, and the Bill touching B^{ps}, is to be considered of, Friday next.

WESTMINSTER: 10^o No^{bris} 1641, at 12: at noone.

EDEN: 15.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

10: 9^{bris} 1641. Apost. 15^o. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate, 20^o at one o'clock afternoone.

This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

By the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth her Ma^{ties} let^r, w^{ch} I hope he will p^esent safe, & wth dilligence to your Royall hands. Wensday last there was a very greate debate in y^e Lo^{des} House, touching instrucc'ons p^epared by y^e Com'ons to be sent to y^e Englishe Com'ittees att Edenburg; six of those instrucc'ons concerne y^e Rebellion in Irland, w^{ch} y^e Lo^{des} passed & approoved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councillors & Councells,¹ w^{ch} held a very long debate, wherein I may not for-

¹ Mr. Prynne it was who undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsellors. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. *Vide Parliamentary History*, vol. x., p. 33, *et seq.*

beare to advertise yo^r Ma^{ty}: that y^e Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne y^e (Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason¹ & iudgem^t, as they got y^e 7th instrucc^{on} to be fairely laid aside, & yesterday att a conference of both Houses, the Lo^{des} tould y^e Com^{ons}, that they agreed to 6 of y^e said instrucc^{ons}, but y^e seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yo^r Ma^{ty} may be pleased to take notice of y^e singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2 noblemen, & especially by the sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac^{on}.

Thanke
them from
me.

By the grace
of God I wil
doe it short-
lie my selfe.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen^{rall} have deferred the issuing of y^e Proclamac^{on} to require all Parliament-mens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yo^r Ma^{ty} satisfacc^{on} therein.

I have herewth sent yo^r Ma^{ty} a speech published here in the name of Mar: Hamilton, that yo^r Ma^{ty} may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into y^e people a good opinion of his Lo^{ds} piety and integrity. The House of Com^{ons} was yesterday soe imployed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not wth their Declarac^{on}, remonstrating y^e ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that y^e rebels are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw,² for defence whereof, y^e Lo^{ds} Justices have sent 1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if y^e rebells shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lo^{ds}

It is a poore
one.

¹ Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford; but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, even while still describing him as "a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects." His apparent objects were to preserve his own consistency, yet to save Lord Strafford's life; and an abler man would have found it difficult to reconcile them. His speech closed with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: "and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood."

² Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

Justices write, that vnlesse there be p'sently sent over 10,000 men, & 100^m in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon y^e Parliam^t hath ordered to increase y^e 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthwth to passe an Act for raysing of 200^m for the service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000 Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000 Scots to be sent into Irland in such numbers as y^e Parliam^t shall give direcc'ons.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yo^r Ma^{ties} speedy returne is, w^{ch} I beseech yo^r Ma^{ties} by all meanes to hasten, for notwthstanding all the discourses in Parliam^t, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yo^r Ma^{ties} may have a speedy, safe, & hon^{ble} returne shalbe ever y^e earnest prayers of

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The last night att 10. a clock, after I had closed this let^r, I receaved by Mr. Tho: Killegrew yo^r Ma^{ties} comands by 2 apostiles, & am now going to Oatlands wth yo^r Ma^{ties} let^r to y^e Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper: I shalbe carefull to p'forme what yo^r Ma^{ties} by that dispatch hath comaunded me. All honnest men will reioyce at y^e welcome newes of yo^r Ma^{ties} returne.

WESTMINSTER, 12^o Nov^r, 1641.

EDEN. 18.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

12^o Nov^r. Apost. 18^o. Ret: by Mr. Proger¹ 22^o at 9. morning.

¹ Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in the *Mémoires de Grammont*, where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be "confident de ses menues plaisirs." He is the same person who, with five other Englishmen, were concerned in the foul murder at Madrid of the Envoy from the English Parliament to Spain in 1650. Proger (or Progers) was at that time in Hyde's Spanish Embassy.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ty},

I sent a let^r this morning to yo^r Ma^{ty} by Mr. Jo. Digby,¹ since my wrighting whereof I receaved yo^r Ma^{ty} by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey yo^r Ma^{ty} comaunds. This is only to conuey to yo^r Royall hands a Pardon for y^e 13 B^{ps},² p^epared by y^e Bp of Lincolne, who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yo^r Ma^{ty} learned Councell wth y^e drawing of it; his Lo^p sent me word that I should hasten it to yo^r Ma^{ty} (albeit you might be on yo^r way home) as I tendred y^e good of yo^r Ma^{ty} service, w^{ch} made me send it now, notwthstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since y^e hearing of y^e busines against these 13 B^{ps} was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre y^e passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determynd concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by y^e Parliam^t, this pardon coming afterwards, and not menc^oning their being sentenced, will not be suffi-
 cyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needlesse. Nay if it shall not be kept very secreat, it may be to their p^rjudice; but yo^r Ma^{ty} com^aunding me in this busines to pursue y^e direcc^ons of that able & experienced B^p, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing. If yo^r Ma^{ty} shall thinke fitt to passe this pardon att this tyme, you may be pleased to signe it, as well on y^e back, that it may passe by immediat warr^t as on y^e fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth an expresse com^aund to my Lo^p Keeper to seale, who will otherwise I beleewe make some scruple to put y^e Great Seale to it.

He came
yesterday.

The return-
ing of w^{ch}
is the onlie
cause of
apostyng
this.

But if [it]
bee dated
before &
therefor I
have not
signed it
date I sup-
pose I may
doe some
good.

So I have.

Doe you that
in my name.

¹ Son to the Earl of Bristol.

² In a subsequent letter, Nicholas again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded Not Guilty. This was notified to the Commons by a message from the
 1. As on the 1st

Yo^r Ma^{ties} of y^e 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yo^r Ma^{tie} on y^e way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yo^r Ma^{tie} comanded) to y^e D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy p^{er}serve & protect yo^r Ma^{tie}, and send you a safe and happy returne, w^{ch} is y^e prayer of all yo^r Ma^{ties} best affected servaunts, as well as of

Yo^r Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this let^r my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that let^r wth this to yo^r Ma^{tie}.

WESTMINSTER, 12^o No^{bris} 1641.

EDEN: 17:

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas

Maistre Nicholas, I have receaued your lettre. I am sory you ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therefore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick ; I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a Derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made without the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepest till I see you.

the King will bee here certaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is hows it should be vere nessessairie that you should inquaire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure¹ to send

¹ Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

their proxies till the comme them selues; the are
in Warwics hier. hauing no more to say I reste
this 12 Novembre

Your assured frend
HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For your selfe."

12^o Nov^{bris} 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},

This is y^e first day since my falling sick, that I
have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I
shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will
not suffer me to forbear any longer to give yo^r
Ma^{tie} an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaved
on Sunday night last yo^r Ma^{ties} comaunds in 3
apostiles dated y^e 9th of this moneth: All w^{ch} I
have alreddy p^rform'd, excepting that concerning
giving notice to my Lord Mayor of y^e day of yo^r
Ma^{ties} entring into London, whereof (I beleeeve) I
shall this afternoone have certeynty from the
Queene.

Herewth yo^r Ma^{tie} will receave a proclamac'on for
y^e attendance of y^e Parliam^t men, w^{ch} my Lo: Keeper
& Mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better
to have bene forborne to be published till yo^r Ma^{ties} re-
turne, w^{ch} is now so neere in expectac'on. The House
of Com'ons hastens by all meanes y^e finishing of y^e
Declarac'on or Remonstrance, & for y^e more speedy
expediting of it, they have att y^e Com'ittee passed by
many p^rticlars to avoide y^e delay of long debate.

The order of y^e House of Com'ons for y^e number of
Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000.
to 5000. vpon Saturday last in y^e afternoone, &
thoughe (wee heare) that y^e employm^t of soe many
Scots wilbe very acceptable to that nac'on, yet it is
here apprehended by wise men, that y^e same will
exasperate y^e Irishe, & make them buckle more
resolutely to a warre of rebellion, then otherwise
they would doe. Since y^e plot in delivering to



Vandyke sculp.

ROBERT DORMER

LARD. OF CAERNARVON

1611.

servant of y^e D: of Richmonds, I receaved y^e same night here at Oatlands yo^r Ma^{ties} apostile of y^e 2^d, and have sent yo^r Ma^{ties} l^re to y^e B^{pps} of London together wth y^e Bills signed for y^e new B^{pps}. I shall carefully p^rforme all yo^r Ma^{ties} com^raunds by yo^r last, & render yo^r Ma^{ties} a speedy account of y^e same. My Lo: Keepersent me this evening this let^r to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^{ties} wth all dilligence, w^{ch} is y^e principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r Ma^{ties} to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lett^{rs}, for I perceave by y^e strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs let^r, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r Ma^{ties} will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r Ma^{ties} to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r Ma^{ties} a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r Ma^{ties} was never more welcome to y^e better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleeve y^e whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r Ma^{ties} happy returne, w^{ch} wilbe y^e best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e eares of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

I returne
this onlie to
show you
that I am
carefull to
doe what you
desyre.

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

OATLANDS, 7^o No^{bris} 1641.
EDEN. 13.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a letter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussinesse of the bishops: having heard that Carnaruen¹ is in is owne

¹ Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. It is stated in *Bromley's Letters*, that his Countess was niece to Sir Richard Browne; but how, does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pem-

hous some twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will cary your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest,

Your assured friend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R. 8th Nov^r 1641. The Queens to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.¹

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ty},

Yesterday I sent yo^r Ma^{ty} a l^{tr} from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th^rer. This day the Com^{ons} House considered of y^e heads of y^e instruct^{ions} to be sent to y^e Englishe Com^{ittees}, & after a long debate, they voted y^e same in y^e House, w^{ch} was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instruct^{ions}, amongst w^{ch} there is one head to y^e effect, (but a little qualified,) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those instruct^{ions} (I am tould) are to be transmitted to y^e Lords.

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

It is here reported by those who have y^e speediest & certeynest advertisem^{ts} from Edinburg, that yo^r Ma^{ty} will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warr^{ts} for y^e new B^{rs} are passing as fast as may be: I this day put y^e Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne.²

I have signified yo^r Ma^{ty} pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to issue a Proclamac^{on} that all Parliam^t men attend in P^{liam}^t, but his Lo^{ps} saith a Proclamac^{on} must issue in y^e ordinary way, and be first signed by yo^r Ma^{ty}, wherefore I have by his Lo^{ps} advise this day

broke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that "he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven!"

¹ This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up omissions in the Parliamentary History of the period.

² These appointments did not take place.

sent a warr^t accordingly to yo^r Ma^{ties} Attorney, to p^rpare such a Proclamac[']on for yo^r Ma^{ties} signature, w^{ch} as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yo^r Ma^{ties}. The Ea. of South^{ton¹} hath bene in North^{tenah}: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lo^p wth what yo^r Ma^{ties} hath comaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into y^e Com[']ons House, and there read, a Declarac[']on of y^e state of y^e affaires of this kingdome, w^{ch} relates all y^e misgovernmen^t and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsell (as they call it) since 3^o of yo^r Ma^{ties} raigne to this p^rsent, and it reflects soe much to y^e p^riudice of yo^r Ma^{ties} government, as if yo^r Ma^{ties} come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe y^e issue of it: for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc[']on to have iustefyed the proceedings of this P[']liam^t, they would not have begun soe high as 3^o. The further considerac[']on of this Declarac[']on is to be had too morrow in y^e House of Com[']ons. If yo^r Ma^{ties} shall not be pleased to keepe to yo^rself what I have written, and to burne this let^r, I may be lost. Yo^r Ma^{ties} cannot so much p^riudice yo^rself, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished,) as you may now by delaying yo^r Ma^{ties} returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r best servaunts here: God send yo^r Ma^{ties} a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes

You must needs speake with such of my servants that you may best trust, in my name. that by all meanes possible this may bee stoped.

I shall most carefully.

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

EDEN. 13.

WESTMINSTER, 8. No^{b^{ris}} 1641.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

8^o No^{b^{ris}} 1641. Apost. 13^o. 9^{b^{ris}}. Rec. 18. 9^{b^{ris}}.

Sent by Sir H. Hungate.²

¹ Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

² Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of

proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence: the worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yo^r Ma^{ties}, as if you had giuen some instructi^ons concerning y^e stirring up y^e army to pet^{iti}oⁿ y^e Parliam^t: I hope it will appeare that yo^r Ma^{ties} intenc^ons were only to retheyne y^e army in their duty & dependance on yo^r Ma^{ties}. The House of Com^ons hath pressed y^e Lo^d very earnestly for removall of y^e Ea: of Portland from his gov^tment of y^e Isle of Weight, but y^e Lo^d yesterday, upon his Lo^ds profession to live & dye in y^e Protestant religion, let fall that busines as by y^e inclosed yo^r Ma^{ties} will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by y^e Com^ons touching y^e Declarac^on remonstrating y^e bad effects of ill counsell, but it is thought that y^e same wilbe finished this weeke: there are diverse well aff^{ec}ted servants of yo^r Ma^{ties} in that House, that oppose that remonstrance wth vnanswerable argum^{ts}, but it is veryly thought that it will passe notwthstanding,¹ & that it wilbe ordered to be printed wthout transmission to y^e Lo^d. The Com^ons (I heare) haue intercepted some let^{rs} that passed betweene Mr. Crofts² & y^e Dutchess of Chevereux,³ and gotten the key of their *caraches*, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this day bene exa^{mi}ed: as alsoe touching his soe frequent vissitting of Col: Goring at Portsmouth, and y^e Coll: is also come up by com^{and}

¹ The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22nd of this month.

² Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service. Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this, as appears by a reference to *Bromley's Royal Letters*, page 85.

³ This Lady was at the Court of England for the first time, in 1638; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having, in a frolic, swam across the Thames; somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also preserves an extract from a Copy of Verses made on the occasion by a Sir J. M. (probably Sir John

of y^e Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortified that garrison to y^e land, & put forth some ould soldiers & put in new; whereby yo^r Ma^{tie} may see that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yo^r Ma^{tie} at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in y^e meane tyme I humbly rest

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER: 19^o No^{bris} 1641.

"For yo^r Sacred Ma^{tie}."

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching his commin: now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at my lord Maiors and lye at Whitthall onelye for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter: the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinses now to receaued anye direction from mee: beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest

Your assured frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R: 20^o No^{bris} 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb'lan.

Mennes, author of the *Musarum Deliciae*), whose opinion of the lady's frigid chastity is matter of vast amusement to Pen-
nant. Sir J. M. exclaims, in his poetic rapture,

"But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,
Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,
So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,
Thought they might safely land without a boat;
July had seen the Thames in ice involved,
Had it not been by her own beams dissolved."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{ty},

I receaved yo^r Ma^{ty} com'aunds yesterday by S^r Hen: Hungate,¹ & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe y^e same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yo^r Ma^{ty} an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assurance, that (as I formerly acquainted yo^r Ma^{ty}) y^e Gent: & diverse of y^e best of y^e freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yo^r Ma^{ty} a myle before you come to Ware, & if yo^r Ma^{ty} please to make a little stop in that towne, that y^e better sorte may there kisse yo^r Royall hand, & y^e rest be spoken to by yo^r Ma^{ty}, it will give them very great contentm^t. If yo^r Ma^{ty} please to come softly from Ware, y^e most of those will wayte on yo^r Ma^{ty} as farre as Theobalds, & if yo^r Ma^{ty} thinke not that convenyent, they will wayte on yo^r Ma^{ty} only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receive yo^r Ma^{ty} grac'ous dismission. I am y^e more dilligent to give yo^r Ma^{ty} this advertisem^t, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encouragem^t & comfort to yo^r well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have y^e like dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Ma^{ty} person and governm^t, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to gine yo^r Ma^{ty} a magnificent recepc'on, notwthstanding (I heare) there have bene some practises vnderhand to divert them from that their settled pu^opose.

By y^e Queenes direcc'ons I signified to my Lo: Chamb'layne on Satterday last, that yo^r Ma^{ty} intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att y^e Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue y^e House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity & good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed:² The Com'ons have bene in

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 117, 118.

² In some subsequent transactions, underwent the

debate about their Declarac'on touching y^e ill effects of bad counsellis euer since 12 at noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight.¹ I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yo^r Ma^{ties} y^e result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see y^e issue of it; only I assure yo^r Ma^{ties} there are diverse in y^e Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that Declarac'on, and if they p^rvayle not then to protest against it. That yo^r Ma^{ties} may have a happy & safe returne^s shalbe euer y^e prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

WESTMINSTER, 22^o Nov^r, 1641.

imputation of having acted a double part with the King and the Parliament. When the war broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King; but that town, being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrode says, with the money he had received on both sides, "without making good his promises to either." That Author adds, that "if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him." Goring's high command in the army, and subsequent court-favour, are supposed to have been occasioned in a great measure by the very active assistance he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

¹ It was a little after twelve when the "Great Remonstrance" was carried, by a majority of eleven. Hampden then moved that it should be printed, which Hyde met by a counter-motion, in which he claimed the right for the minority to be allowed to enter a formal protest against the decision of the House. It appears by the above letter that Nicholas had been informed of Hyde's intention to make this attempt. Hampden's motion was not carried till two o'clock, and after a scene of extraordinary excitement (in which bloodshed was only prevented, according to Sir Philip Warwick, "by the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden") the House adjourned at three o'clock. Sir Benjamin Rudyard compared the result to "the verdict of a starved jury."

² The King did return on the 25th; which closed this por-

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

OXFORD, 30 Jan : 1644.¹

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receaue by your fellow Secretaires letter, but the surpryse of Compton House by S^r W. Compton :² & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners,³ that if there be any Treaty proposed tion of the Correspondence. On the next day, the 26th of November, 1641, the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas was acknowledged and rewarded by the honour of Knight-hood conferred on him at Whitehall, as appears from a MS. List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period we find also recorded "Five most noble Speeches" spoken to his Majesty by the mayors of several cities on his route homeward. The Mayor of York assured him : "Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe;" to which this ultra-loyal magistrate added : "our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untied with alacrity, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent a Sovereigne, our fields do seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contemne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty." The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's "abject Lieutenant," enlarged upon the loyalty of his fellow citizens, and said that "each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker;" whilst Huntingdon's worshipful magistrate boasted, "that although Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councill, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

¹ A long interval here occurs in the Correspondence, arising from the King's return. Nicholas appears to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending this well-known Treaty. The "good news" to which the King refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

² Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

³ These were, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford; the Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester;

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Portrait plate

Philobroto 50

JAMES GRAHAM,
MARQUIS OF MONTROSE

OB 1650

concerning Scotland (of w^{ch} I forgott to speake to them at parting) theire answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose¹ is in, there being noe reason, that I should treate blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddy else would: so I rest

Your asseured frend,
CHARLES R.

R 31^o Janⁱ. 1644.

His Ma^{ties} let^r to me by Mr. Skipwth¹ concerning Scotland during y^e Treaty at Uxbridge.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r sacred Ma^{tie},

I have herewth sent to yo^r Ma^{tie} coppies² of such papers as passed betweene yo^r Ma^{ties} Comission^{rs}

Oxford
6 Feb.

Heerafter
you shall

Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman; and Messrs. John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart.

¹ Montrose is represented by those who take the more favourable view of his character to have been secretly attached and faithful to the King's cause some time before he so declared himself, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland Montrose had joined the Presbyterian party, and was the first to sign the Covenant, yet seeing reason to change his views, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he is alleged to have come to England with the intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival, however, Hamilton, who had often been accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote shortly after to the King, expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms; which letter, it is asserted, Hamilton took out of his Majesty's pocket in the night, and sent it secretly to the Covenanters.

² Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

³ The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had

doe well to
marke their
orders to
saue us the
labor to
fynde out,
w^{ch}che an-
swers w^{ch},
as wel as to
send the
Papers
themselves.

You have
done well,
but they,
barbarusly.

Setle the
Weekly
dispatches
for France
with the
Portugall
Agent, &
send me
word how.
I haue.

No Braggas
must stager,
much less
alter you in
the way you
ar, in con-
stantly ad-
hering to
Concience,
Justice, &
Honnor

In this, free
dealing is
the best.
Conscience
is not to be

here yesterday, & y^e Londoners touching y^e Militia, w^{ch} this afternoone yo^r Ma^{ties} Com[']ission^{rs} are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yo^r Ma^{ties}: this morning wee are to observe y^e fast according to yo^r Ma^{ties} Proclamac[']on,¹ but it must be donne here in y^e Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have y^e Booke of Com[']on Prayer read in y^e church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

I have made reddy the dispatch to y^e King of Portugall, w^{ch} wilbe tendred to yo^r Ma^{ties} under my hand. I hope yo^r Ma^{ties} upon y^e advertisem^t I sent to yo^r Ma^{ties} & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to p[']vent that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London have com[']aunded. The Comission^{rs} from London say, that S^r W^m Waller² is marching westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men; and that there is an army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of y^e spring: They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662. hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352. 225. 276. 428. offring 163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac[']on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not y^e p[']ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, now been greatly augmented by recruits from the Metropolis and its neighbourhood, as well as from the associated counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried every thing before them. They had recently advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's headquarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

¹ This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the Mercurius Rusticus is a copy of the prayer orderd for the occasion: but as it spoke of the "unnatural War," and prayed the Almighty to "let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends," it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

² Waller was not a very fortunate General. Walker says of him, in the History of Independency, "that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment."

I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yo^r
Ma^{ties} person & prosper yo^r designes, soe prayes
Yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

UXBRIDGE, 5^o *febr*. 1644.

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter :

"I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais
meane in your publique meetings,) with the London Comis-
sioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant
Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and in-
famy, except they repented, & founde some way to free them-
selves from the damnable way they ar in (this Treaty being
the aptest) it might doe good ; & cheefly, if Hertford or
Southampton would doe it, though I believe it will haue the
owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with argu-
ments : but the more of you that speakes in this dialect the
better : This is written not as your Maister but your Frend,
C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not con-
fident concerning this postcrip, but refer my selfe to your

the Sh. of the Exche: Office.
353 : 116 : 276 : 352 : 225 : 276 : 428 : 560.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^{ties}."

"Yours apostyled."

5-6 *febr*. 1644.

My Le^r to y^e King apostyled concerning o^r proceedings in
y^e Treaty at Uxbridge.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

OXFORD 8. *Feb*. 1644.¹

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your
proceedings, so I will nott now censure them : since
upon the place, you may haue founde such reasons
as you haue not fully expressed to me : but, to deale
freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more
reseruation concerning the Militia : for though I
could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue
sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to

¹ The points referred to in this Letter require no historical
illustration ; but the Letter itself is a remarkable document
in regard to the private history of the Negotiations at Ux-
bridge, and is an important illustration of the views and
spirit of the King at this juncture.

sould at any
rate : but if
they will
helpe me in
the Militiatio
purpose, I
will assist
them for
theire
Acreas.

haue beene drawen on by degrees upon debates, w^{ch} me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selves nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any aproaches to you: And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme than three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long settled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delayes for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection than Monarchicall: So I rest

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

If you be pressed to giue a positie answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you in that particular.

Indorsed, R. 9^o ffebr. 1644.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

OXFORD 11 Feb. 1644.

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things w^{ch} meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia: but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather: yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number, that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other; & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be gotten by it: But as for those things w^{ch} meerly concerne Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to

Muntrose, not being ashamed to avow that I shall be much guyded by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treate in those things, without at least communicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me,

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

11^o febr. 1644. R. 12.

His Ma^{ties} conc^rning Scotland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions. As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes conference, I like it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were settled: lyking so well what ye haue alreddy done touching that article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme: as concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, w^{ch} only concernes that kingdome: to w^{ch} I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne both; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say: but, goe not a tittle lesse concerning Religion & Churche-gouernement, & soe I rest

Your asseured friend,

CHARLES R.

OXFORD 15 febr. 1644.

Indorsed,

R: 16^o febr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being [included] for the Militia of England..

(A FRAGMENT.)

OXFORD 17 Feb. 1644.

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vixbridge.

1. First for Religion & Churche Gouvernement, I will not goe one jott further, than what is offered by you alreddy.

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue alowed by me: but, euen in that, ye must observe, that I must haue free nomination of the full halfe; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiuteene; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots and Tenn English: and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreeede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons: besydes Securitie, I giue you power, to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in possession: but as much profitt as you will: with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed, "R 17th febr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during y^e Treaty at Uxbridge."

*The King to Prince Rupert.*TICKNILL¹ 14 June 1644.

Nepueu,

First I must congratulate with you, for yo^r good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues are no more welcom to me, then that you are the

¹ Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, the Corporation having previously met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The charges are entered upon the Town Books; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church, and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice; making in all the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling.

meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for wh^{ch} I haue taken all possible wayes, have sent both to Ireland & Bristoll. As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfyd that it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the country between Witney and Worcester, along what was afterwards the Cheltenham road. The march upon Bewdley is said by Sir Edward to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might obtain considerable advantage over him. Waller, however, avoided the western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the "Foreign" of which town, as it is called, reaches to the eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of the letter in the text, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller; but, immediately after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally he defeated Waller at Cropredy bridge, on the 29th of June.

At the date of his letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish army (just before the battle of Marston Moor), and that the Scots had been also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester. This fact explains the military orders given in it, which are perfectly in consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Parliamentary forces after raising the siege; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy; else why did he allude to "beating the Rebel armies" as a means of enabling him to spin out time? This is a most

spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left : but what I can get from Bristoll (of w^{ch} there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, w^{ch} if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnless supported by yo^r suddain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here : but if York be relieved, and you beat the Rebels armies of both kingdomes w^{ch} are before it ; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist me : Wherefore I command and coniure you by the duety & affecc'on w^{ch} I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yo^r first intention) with all yo^r force to the reliefe of York : but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work : that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worster, to assist me and my army, without w^{ch}, or yo^r having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may beleive that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes doubt of your punctuall compliance with

Yo^r loving Oncle & most faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy)

important fact in the history of the Civil Wars ; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other general officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting against or without orders, as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburgh, and thereby the whole of the north was lost to the King's cause. The letter in the text is a copy, but it

At a Councell at Oxford, 5^o December 1644. Present

The Kings most excellent Ma^{tie},
 Prince Rupert Lo: Chamberlaine
 Prince Maurice Ea: of Berks
 Lord Keeper Ea: of Sussex
 Lord Treasurer Ea: of Chichester
 Lo: Duke of Richmond Lo: Digby
 Lo: Marq^s Hertford Lo: Seymour
 Lo: Great Chamb'laine Lo: Culpeper
 Ea: of South'ton Mr. Secretary Nicholas.
 Mr. Chanc^r of y^e Excheq^r.

A Letter being then read written by y^e Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Ma^{ties} Armyes in these words,

"S^r,

There being a message sent from his Ma^{tie} by y^e Committess of both kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & E. of South'ton without any direc'con: I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yo^r Highnesse notice, That if y^e King bee pleased to desire a safe conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & y^e Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants from y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliam^t of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England, and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answere to the Propositions presented to his Ma^{ties} for a safe and well grounded peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being

Yo^r Highness humble Servant,
 ESSEX."

3^o Decemb. 1644.

Which Letter and y^e expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Ma^{ties} desire presents no material discrepancy from the original, which has since been printed in Mr. Foster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv. pp. 129, 130.

of a safe-conduct in y^e termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of y^e members of y^e two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice his Majesties cause,

Whereupon his Ma^{tie} declaring openly at y^e Board, that since such was their Lo^{ps} opinion, that hee did therefore and (*eo animo*) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Ma^{tie} desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Ma^{ties} Generall, to retorne this answere :

“ My Lord,

I am commanded by his Ma^{tie} to desire of yo^r Lo^p a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac'ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from y^e Lords and Com'ons assembled in y^e Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England and y^e Commission^{rs} of y^e Parliament of Scotland now at London an answere to y^e propositions presented to his Ma^{tie} for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

Yo^r Lo^{ps} Servant,
RUPERT.”

Oxon. 5th Decemb^r, 1644.

Which said answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The following is in the hand of Sir E. N.

Memorandum : that the King and myself of all the Councill Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion ; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westm^r a Parliam^t. P. Rupert thought he were p^{re}sent did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councill ; but by the orderr & practice of the Councill Boorde, if the

maior part agree to any act or order, all the Councillors that were p^esent att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.—E. N.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HEMLY HALL,¹ 16 May, 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seuerall dispatches, but haue no newes to send you in recompence to yours, nor expect to sende you any

sum'on Chester

untill we shall come to 488 : 338 : w^{ch} is our first designe

361 : being not yet resolved whether to goe afterward :² I am glad you goe so well on wth your provisions

448 : 54 : 74 : & hope you will take as great care that you be not disturbed by mutinous people : this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Crown Le:

Let hencefoorth 337. signefy 1 : 40 : 30 : 70 :

r i b u t i o n Portland
33 : 23 : 50 : 71 : 24 : 40 : 31 : 73 : & 447 : 74 :

p a p i s t
47 : 10 : 48 : 25 : 53 : 72 : 75.

Being newly come hither to Bisberry,³ I haue certaine intelligence that S^r John Pryce, being Gouvernor & in Mungomery Castel, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16^o Maij 1645. R: 21^o.

The King to me.

¹ In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.

² On the day following the date of this Letter measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford; the Commons, on the 17th of May, sending a message to the Upper House, to let their Lordships know "that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles."

³ Bibury in Oxfordshire.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

CHETWIN, 18 May 1645.

Nicholas,

I receaved yours of the 16. this morning, to w^{ch} I haue litle to answer but to thanke you for your often aduerticements,¹ & to tell the Marquis Winchester that he recompence his woode losse out of Wallops:² for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we are (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Rebelles hauing twyce offered to beate up some of our quarters, but wth losse to themselues: I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting [recruiting] & fortifications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions: So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454: I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

(Address) "for your selfe."

Indorsed; 18^o Maij. 1645. R. 21^o. The King to me.*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*WISTON,³ 4 June 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaved yours, of the 30: May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried: but I would not answer any of them myselfe ^{untill} 292:

¹ It would seem to have been also the King's intention about this time to have done more for his secretary than mere thanks; for in a letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and published by the Parliament, he says, "As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it."

² Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that nobleman.

³ There are several places of this name; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant is in Nottinghamshire.

I were marching towards
 287 : 177 : 307 : 222 : 182 : 273 : 36 : 10 : 33 : 20 :
 you without any thing
 53 : 73 : 313 : 75 : 298 : 232 : thinking of 92 : 285 :
 else before I have
 74 : 44 : 4 : 54 : 45 : 76 : 105 : 134 : 46 : 77 : 177 :
 ed you yet I must
 157 relieu 133 : 78 : 313 : 312 : 177 : 212 : deale
 freely with you that my army
 376 : 203 : 79 : 298 : 318 : 283 : 17 : 84 : 83 : 325 : is
 being not 4000 foote
 so weake (105 : 182 : 226 : 70 : 80 : 143 : 497 : 375 :
 & scarce horse
 93 : 81 : 55 : 112 : 53 : 45 : 82 : 3500 : 174 : 73 :)
 as I shall vn
 95 : 177 : 74 : 54 : 14 : 11 : 4 : 6 : 73 : 292 :
 to rellue
 willingly hazard 273 : 33 : 46 : 5 : 23 : 60 : 57 :
 Oxon before Lo. Goring¹ or Garrarde
 436 : 105 : 134 : 382 : 234 : 75 : 7 : 12 : 34 : 33 :
 be joyned to me
 44 : 105 : 76 : 184 : 31 : 45 : 21 : 273 : 221 : except
 an absolute
 such 13 : 32 : 77 : 10 : 50 : 53 : 40 : 4 : 61 : 70 : 46 :
 necessity that
 78 : 32 : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 : 45 : 71 : 85 : 283 :
 Oxon wilbe lost if not
 436 : 305 : 105 : 79 : 4 : 42 : 53 : 72 : 183 : 226 :
 by such a day, wherfore as
 70 : 78 : relined 106 : 267 : 11 : 123 : 302 : 134 : 97 :
 you love my
 313 : 5 : 43 : 63 : 44 : 80 : 18 : 86 : 81 : 243 :
 preservation use
 54 : 45 : 33 : 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 : 46 : 83 :

¹ Goring at this time was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, shortly before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might prove too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken; but he hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. See Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

all possible meanes 233 : 244 : 196 : 182 : 314 :
 provisions though it be by chasing
 448 : 55 : 77 : 286 : 178 : 105 : 106 : 78 : 2 : 14 :
 out all people
 13 : 54 : 182 : 232 : 90 : unnecessary 47 : 44 : 40 :
 who have not provision
 48 : 6 : 45 : 304 : 157 : 226 : 71 : 79 : 448 : 134 :
 for themselves & stinting
 281 : 19 : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 : 93 : 75 : 55 :
 D. of
 70 : 24 : 30 : 71 : 182 : euery one (117 : 233 : 512 :
 Yorke not ed to a small
 226 : 72 : except 133) 273 : 73 : 10 : 74 : 53 : 17 :
 proportion of
 11 : 4 : 44 : 77 : 244 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 : 78 :
 meate euery day
 233 : 221 : 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 : 86 : 80 : 123 :
 & doe not me to you
 93 : 118 : 45 : 226 : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 : 273 : 313 :
 without very very
 298 : 232 : 294 : 74 : 60 : 44 : 33 : 84 : 74 : absolute
 necessity for
 30 : 46 : 3 : 45 : 53 : 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 :
 upon the faith of a
 134 : 293 : 235 : 281 : 137 : 233 : 75 : 10 : 76 : 1 :
 Christian noe tyme
 14 : 33 : 23 : 53 : 70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 : 226 : 498 :
 be lost for yor succour
 shall 105 : 78 : 5 : 40 : 54 : 72 : 134 : 314 : 488 : 78 :
 how soone it may be
 16 : 41 : 36 : 266 : 235 : 45 : 79 : 178 : 209 : 105 :
 donne wh any of not
 121 : 298 : 92 : probability 233 : 226 : 71 : 73 :
 hazarding like
 16 : 12 : 56 : 13 : 34 : 20 : 182 : 199 : 77 : mad
 I stay at
 men ; which 177 : shall 55 : 72 : 10 : 86 : 94 :
 Harboro (weh is my
 74 : 15 : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 : 35 : 39 : (299 : 178 : 17 :
 morrows march) some tyme to
 84 : 216 : 41 : 38 : 55 : 222 : 262 : 498 : 273 : 75 :

^{ather} 8 : 12 : 281 : ^{up} 34 : 293 : straglers [&] 93 : ^{to} 273 : ^{make} 219 :
^{provision} 448 : ^{to} 273 : ^{supply} 486 : ^{you} 313 : ^{for} 134 : ^{this} 90 : ^{service} 282 : 318 : & then
^{march} wee shall 222 : ^{faster} 76 : 64 : 11 : 53 : 70 : ^{or} 44 : 33 : 234 :
^{slower} 77 : 54 : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So
 I rest

Your most asseured frend,
 CHARLES R.

Indorsed, 4^o Junij 1645, "the K^s to me."

. The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

DAINTY, 9 June 1645.

Nicholas,

I have receaued so many letters from you, that I belue none of them ar miscaried,¹ & this morning one from you of the 7. & wth it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton and Dorset by w^{ch} I perceauie they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest: but the cheefe end of this is, by you to send this inclosed to 454: tell

^{his}
 394: that I have receaued 165 of the $\frac{1}{9}$ of May but wouldnot stay this messenger untill it was desyfered: I will say no more now, but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians² ar lyke

¹ The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence was, at this time, much interrupted; for the letter of Goring, already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and it was this which induced the parliamentary commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby, before he could be joined by the army from the West.

² A letter written by Charles, on this day, to the Queen, was intercepted by the Parliament. In it he assured her that the rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Oxford, in consequence of his march after the taking of Leicester; and that quarrels were then very frequent between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs never were in so hopeful and so fair a way; adding, that all he wished for, in case of ultimate success, was the undisturbed enjoyment of her society.

to haue this somer, we may all expect probably a
merry winter. So I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

"For your selfe."

9^o Junij. 1645. R. 10^o. His Ma^{tie} l^{tr} to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

DAINTY, 11 June 1645.

Nicholas,

As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much

wonder ^{at the letter & message} 94 : 281 : 204 : 93 : 221 : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 :

44 : 73 : 299 : 281 : 406 : 54 : 74 : 50 : 33 : 40 : 60 : ^{weh the Lords brought}

8 : 14 : 70 : 75 : 221 : for you know ^{me that the} 283 : 281 : 351 :

^{Councell was neuer wont} 76 : 36 : 11 : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 : 78 : 37 : 40 : 31 :

^{to debate} 71 : 79 : 273 : 80 : 20 : 45 : 51 : 12 : 23 : 72 : 46 : upon

^{not propounded to them} any matter : 226 : 70 : 81 : 244 : 249 : 133 : 273 : 281

^{by King it were} 17 : 82 : 106 : y^e 398 : & certainly 178 : 307 : a strange

thing ^{if my marching Army} 285 : 183 : 83 : 18 : 84 : 222 : 182 : 325 (espeticially

^{at the head of them} I being 94 : 281 : 173 : 233 : 281 : 19 : and) should

^{by my sitting} be gouerned 106 : 73 : 17 : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 : 70 : 122 :

^{Councell at Oxon when} 351 : 94 : 436 : the 303 : it is scarce fitt for my selfe

^{at such a distance} 94 : 267 : 11 : 124 : 71 : 12 : 31 : 1 : 45 : to give

^{positiue Order} any 47 : 43 : 53 : 26 : 70 : 25 : 63 : 57 : 439 : & in-

^{wonder that} deed it added to my 39 : 42 : 30 : 20 : 44 : 33 : 283 :

Vulpone 109 : 226 : 72 : 73 : 14 : 23 : 30 : 21 : 45 :

34 : 282 : as the Gouvernor tould me he did such an

other 181 : 124 : 2 : 35 : 25 : 71 : 46 : 74 : 17 : 41 :

72 : 185 : but few dayes agoe : howeuer I desyre you

to take the best care you may that 281 : 199 : 233 :

282 : 105 : 226 : 71 : 77 : 121 : with heerafter ; of
w^{ch} I will say no more, hauing freely & fully spoken

of it to 406 : 16 : 13 : 70 : 72 : 43 : 32 : to whom I
refer you, & rest

Your most asseured frend,
CHARLES R.

The Gouvernor hathe earnestly desyred me to
thank Vulpone and your selfe for the great assistance
ye haue giuen him in my absence, w^{ch} I hartely doe,
desyring you to continew so ; for I fynde he will
haue need of all helpes.

R: 14^o Junii. 1645. The King to me concerning the l'tres
sent his Mat^{tie} by the Councell when he was at Daintree.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

LUBNAM,¹ 13 June 1645.

Nicholas, this is first to send this inclosed by your
meanes to 70 : 454 : 240 : then to lett you know
you ar like to heare of me tomorrow.² I marche

¹ In Leicestershire. This Letter, as noted by Nicholas,
was written on the very day before the battle of Naseby.

² The "inclosed" Letter is not preserved ; but, on a com-
parison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the
news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after
the letter in the text was written, that a Council was held in
the King's tent, and a resolution taken to give battle ; but it

^{Land}
 to 4 : 10 : 30 : 20 : 11 : 50 : 12 : 84 : 82 :
^{Melton}
 after that to 17 : 44 : 5 : 70 : 40 : 31 : & so to
^{Belvoir}
 51 : 45 : 6 : 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but I assure
 you that I shall looke before I leape farther 32 :
^{North}
 43 : 34 : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to supper,
 so I rest

Your most assured frend,
 CHARLES R.

WOLVERHAMPTON, 17 June.

This was written befor the Bataile.

"For your selfe."

17^o Junii 1645. The King to me before y^e Battaile of Naisby.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.¹

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue
 used in your letters to me, & as for 281 : 23 : 4 :
^{the} ^{ill}
^{intelligence} ^{betwixt} ^{my} ^{Soldiers}
 6 : 395 : 105 : 70 : 36 : 24 : 87 : 71 : 73 : 17 : 84 :
 484 : 53 : I belive I haue found the bottom of it,
 & haue put such a remedy to it, as hope heere-
 after to haue little troble that way : and am con-
 also appears, by this remarkable Letter, that when Charles
 went to supper on that memorable night he had no intention
 of adopting the course which, so recommended by his mid-
 night Council, ended in his entire ruin. So little had he
 been conscious of the approach of the enemy, that on the
 previous day he had been hunting, and what he designed for
 the morrow (the fatal day of Naseby) we observe by the let-
 ter in the text.

¹ This letter is without date of place ; but by means of it, and several of the subsequent ones, we mark the King's route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark ; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as "flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself." It is evident, notwithstanding, that he had specific plans in view ; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

fidest, that there is 226 : 288 : 113 : 233 : 487 :
with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 : 104 : 477 :

^{fancies}
165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : 11 : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 : 54 :
for this I haue very good ground ; but now I desyre
to know who ar the melancolly men amongst you,
that is to say if any dispare of our business, (for we
heere thinke that we had so much the better, as we
might spare them thus much & yet be upon equall

^{Southampton}
termes,) & in particular what 478 : 421 : 385 : 93 :
406 : 54 : 45 : 18 : 46 : 84 : thinkes of my present
affaires : I haue so good hopes of my Welshe leauies
that I dout not but (by the grace of God) to be in
the head of a greater Army within this two monthes,
than any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost
it ; send this inclosed where you use to doe.

"For your selfe."

R: 8^o July 1645. The K^s to me.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir,

I sent you word by Col^r Terringham that I had
receaved your letter by this woman, so alsoe the un-
fortunat losse of brige Watter, sence w^{ch} I heare noe
sertay'ty of the Enemy's motions. there is a shippe
landed at dartmouth laden wth 200 bar^l of powder

^{: If Fairfax advance}
and store of arms. 209 : 474 : 53 : 76 : 33 : 99 :
^{speedily to us Wee shall}
10 : 40 : 343 : 40 : 225 : 347 : 363 : 369 : 28 : 87 :
^{hee to quit Bath want}
97 : 110 : forced 76 : 347 : 308 : 437 : for 13 : 54 : 81 :
^{of men and victualls}
50 : 278 : 248 : 100 : 616 : 30 : 527 : but if 604 :

^{see} ^{give} ^{us} ^{time}
 91 : 183 : 174 : 363 : 20 : 51 : 17 : 38 : 48 :
^{wee} ^{dee} ^{well} .
 369 shall 125 : 373 : 273 : 158 :—I heare but
^{Prince Charles} ^{is} ^{at}
 little from Gⁿ Goring.¹ 544 : 280 : 207 : 101 :
^{Pendennis} ^{Castle} ^{that}
 4 : 140 : 40 : 79 : 207 : 96 : 452 : it is reported 354.
^{Mr} ^{Jac} ^{Berkly} ^{both} ^{given} ^{five} ^{hundred} ^{to} ^{some}
 431. 190. 174. 81. 153. 204. 158. 347. 328, body
^I ^{know} ^{for} ^{to} ^{stop} ^{Prince Charles²}
 205. 218.—148. 847. 30. 50. 27. 6. 40. 544.
^{from coming} ^{to} ^{Exeter.}
 160. 119. 208. 66. 347. 470. I doubt we shall
^{Sir} ^{R. Grenville⁴}
 shortly see the mistery of this.³ 482. 353. 282.

¹ Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Suttonfield, near Bridgewater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23rd. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence. It was he who, some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, told the King that Sir Thomas his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, had called to him his five sons, and thus addressed them: "My children, we have seen hitherto serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush."

² Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.

³ Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales's confidence about the time of this "mystery:" for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince's Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

⁴ Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act; and

ye only souldier in the West is
 225. 594. 208. 353. 371. 207. 76. discontented 78.
 & is at his owne house
 40. 77. 90. 100. 207. 101. 184. 284. 85. 24. 33. 28.
 ye King will doe I know
 43. w^{ch} he will defend. What 499. 371. 125. 205.
 not. Lo: Digby a word (part erased) I shall
 218. 267. 456. send. 28. 13. 76. 40. or 205. 30. 85.
 as on as some
 97. 108. 102. so 2. 82. 90. 102. 328. speculation
 are brought to
 30. 20. 31. 98. 71. 44. 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. 347
 protection
 301. 16. 40. 10. 50. 211. 604. 341. Pray god this
 prove well. Just as I am writing I heare that 280.
 the Scots Army is past betweene
 353. 592. 427. 207. 4. 102. 50. 20. 110. 50. 369.
 Monmouth &
 80. 40. 37. 24. 81. 39. 27. 36. 51. 87. 90. 97.
 Abergainy
 53. 61. 44. 177. 41. 94. 31. this inclosed is conserning
 the commissioners of asseise, whoe are soe bond up
 by the members att Oxford that noe thing canbe
 issued wthout their consent; if they were but soe farr
 trusted as that, in such case as now we are in, (when
 we need powder and provisions) monys might be
 issued from thence to such uses as shall be most
 necessary for his Ma^{ties} service in the guarison, I shall
 be acountable that none shall be desired by me
 wthout there be a great necessity. I pray lett me
 have a speedy answer, w^{ch} will infenetly oblige
 Your most faithfull frend,
 RUPERT.

BRISTOL, 27 of July.

27^o July 1645. Rec. 31. Pr^{ce} Rupert to me.

he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount's Bay,
 where he remained until the successes of the Parliament army
 in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into
 their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Con-
 tinent.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir,

As I told you our resolution in my last by the
 we are ced to quit Bath. The King
 woman 369 : 98. for-138. 347. 308. 437. 499. in-
 for designe:

tends 148. 592. a fine 459. you may be sure that
 I have hand in it, for I have this from others : this
 is alle our news : pray write often to us ; I have
 receaved but one expresse from you, the rest were
 by messengers of my owne. So I rest

Yo^r most faithfull frend,

RUPERT.

BRISTOLL 29th of July.*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*

CARDIFF 4 Aug. 1645.

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secre-
 tary¹ to giue you a full accout as well of our pro-
 ceedings heere, as resolutions ; I will neither trouble
 you nor my selfe with repetitions : only for my selfe
 I must desyre you to lett euery one know, that no
 distresse of fortune whatsoeuer shall euer make me
 (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from
 those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my
 Comissioners at Uxbridge ; & w^{ch} (I thanke them)
 the Rebelles haue published in print : & though I
 could haue wished that paines had beene spaired, yet
 I will nether deny that those things ar myne, w^{ch}
 they haue sett out in my name, (only some words
 heere & there mistaken, & some com'as misplaced,
 but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant, or
 honnest man, blushe for any of those papers ; indeed,
 as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe : & yet
 I would faine know him, who would be willing that
 the freedome of all his priuat letters were publicquely

¹ Lord Digby.

seene, as myne haue now beene; howsoeuer, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take theire fortunes; it is, concerning the Mungrill Parlament: the trewth is, that Sussex¹ factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, w^{ch} made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by theire raising and fomenting of basse propositions: this is cleerely euenced by my following excuse to her for suffring those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconueniences w^{ch} they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I haue reaued (received) your new cyfer as for
my (crased) in that
 example, 224 : 302 : 181 : 176 : 276 : 14 : 54 : 11 :
 308 : 216 : 17 : 1 : 181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 :
 151 : 51 : 60 : 316 : 110 : 168 : Husbands 346 :
comand wch you are to use to
 398 : 316 : 98 : 290 : 295 : 86 : 70 : according 290
the nature of the thing.
 277 : 225 : 19 : 43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : 231 : 277 : 280 :

Indorsed, Cardiff 4^o Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P^{liam}'t.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

BRIDGENORTHE, 9 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, this morning I receaued yours of the 30: July, w^{ch} requyres no answer but thanks for your often aduertisments: & particularly for those w^{ch} ar of most freedome, in answer to w^{ch} I shall desyre you,
Digby's
 (with the like freeness) to take heed that 358 : 51 :

¹ Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

friends make not most of suspielon
 376 : 53 : 210 : 229 : 17 : 50 : 220 : 231 : 277 : 511 :
 (erased) for I cannot con
 against 401 : 147 : 174 : 111 : 229 : 18 : 115 : ceale :
 from you that Digby (erased)
 148 : 316 : 276 : 358 : 39 : 31 : 19 : 35 : 53 :¹ perfectly
 and all that are beleaved to be
 453 : 96 : 94 : 276 : 98 : 104 : 202 : 83 : 290 : 104 :
 his friends that there
 170 : particular 376 : 52 : & I assure you 276 : 277 :
 is no dispatch
 1 : 36 : 60 : 181 : 229 : 124 : 72 : 32 : 17 : 61 : 41 :
 yet come to me from ———
 315 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 148 : 401 : For newes, I refer
 you to your frends, only I must tell you that to
 Lichfield & soe to
 morrow I intend to march to 403 : 96 : 266 : 290 :
 Newarke ye next day; but if ye Irish
 437 : 277 : 227 : 524 : 109 : 175 : 277 : 78 : 2 : 79 :
 be come then
 51 : 42 : 104 : 116 : of w^{ch} I haue good hope 277 :
 I turne to Chester
 27 : 174 : shall 17 : 43 : 3 : 28 : 37 : 290 : 340. My
 last was from Cardife, w^{ch} was written in such haste
 that I forgot to bid you send me word (w^{ch} now I
 earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my
 printed letters ar, & haue been, sensured at Oxford,
 by the seuerall sorts of people, according to theire
 dyuerse humors; this is all at this tyme from

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the W^a of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want*: lykewais the two others at the end of the Y^a with *yesternight* & *yonder*.

9^o Aug: 1645. R. 16^o. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

¹ These figures are decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen; yet may in part be restored.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

DONCASTER, 18 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, w^{ch} considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good; and indeed the gentlemen in thease partes shewes themselves really affectionat & harty in my service: acting cherfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selves for winter, but lykewais that you so recrute your selves in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years army: So I rest,

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

As I haue com'aded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my friends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

DONCASTER 18^o Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*

HUNTINGTOUNE 25 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdomes & frends) an interpretation of them, & particularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause: and now me thinkes I wer too blame if

I did not justifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, w^{ch} is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolute (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouvernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my successors, by lesening the Crowne of that ecclesiasticall & military power w^{ch} my predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for their faithfulnessse to me, resolving sooner to live as miserable as the violent rage of successful insulting Rebels can make me (w^{ch} I esteeme far worse than death) rather then not to be exactly constant to these grounds; from w^{ch}, whosoever, upon whatsoever occasion, shall persuade me to recede in the least title, I shall esteeme him either a foole or a knave; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc?* Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troublesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, w^{ch} I comend you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such discourses, & so I rest,

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the peace of Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug: 1645. The King to me from Huntington, containing his resoluc'on never to quit y^e Church Gouvernement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that military or eccl'all power w^{ch} was left him by his predecessors.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*RAGLAND¹ 9 Sep. 1645.

Nicholas, I receaved yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceave by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisments from London, w^{ch} as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new discouery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes² about the Irishe Papists, is trew: for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denyed by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in w^{ch} she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so far from aprobatation) but only the transmitting of it to me, w^{ch} certainly was not fitt for her to refuse: & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I belue, in that letter w^{ch} Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebelles haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, w^{ch} are published: That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject: but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So

¹ The King's adventures at this old castle are too well known to require illustration.

² Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by w^{ch}, if it be brought to light, (w^{ch} I comand you to endeuer, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor; for where my owen justifies me (w^{ch} I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remains unanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

R. 24^o Sep^{bris} 1645. His Mat^{ties} le^r to me that y^e Rebells have not printed some l^{rs} of his Mat^{tie} & y^e Queens w^{ch} iustifie their Mat^{ties} in y^e busenes concⁿing Ireland.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

BRIDGENORTHE 1 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day having receaued the 12^r by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that: first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my course

Newarke

towards 437; where I shall take further resolutions

according to occasion: Vnderstanding that 224:

horse under Lo: Goring 173 : 293 : 83 : 36 : 3 : : 380 : is lykely to be eather

14 : 37 : 32 : 17 : 38 : 27 : 242 : 53 : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 :

36 : 84 : 307 : 277 : 47 : 20 : 98 : I haue com'and

169 : 290 : 14 : 2 : 36 : 33 : 62 : 37 : 60 : 283 : 290 :

213 : now they must 238 : 110 : 232 : 226 : 433 :

wherfor my plasure is, that you take that oportunety

290 : 264 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 290 : 213 : for since it

^{yeelde} ^{townes} ^{basely¹}
 is the fashion to 314 : 17 : 54 : 68 : 27 : 35 : 52 : 70 :
^{venture}
 14 : 33 : 52 : 36 : 207 : none can blame me to 43 : 35 :
^{my} ^{children}
 27 : 19 : 44 : 3 : 224 : 59 : 39 : 79 : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 :
ⁱⁿ ^{an} ^{army} ^{rather} ^{then}
 27 : 176 : 95 : 323 : 47 : 90 : 2 : 33 : 277 : 3 : 18 : 39 :
^{to} ^{be} ^{besieged}
 36 : 27 : 290 : 104 : 60 : 16 : 36 : 52 : 38 : 78 : 24 :
 127 : I haue no more to say but that I approue of
 all your aduyses in your last, & meanes to follow
^{the Queene of England}
 them : one of thease inclosed is for 247 : 231 : 363 :
 the other speakes it selfe. So I rest

Your most asseured frend,
 CHARLES R.

"For your selfe."

1^o Octobr 1645. His Mat^{tie} to me concerning sending y^e D.
of Yorke to him by Lo: Goring.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

When you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable deliuerie vpp of the Castle and Fort of Bristoll,² and compared it with those many preceidinge aduertisments w^{ch} have been giuen mee, I make noe doubt, but you and all my Counsell there will conclude that I could doe noe lesse, then what you will find heere inclosed, in my care of the preservation of my Sonne, of all you my faithfull servaunts there, and of that important place, my Citty of Oxford. In the first place you will finde a copy of my letter to my nephew ; secondly, a reuocation of his commission of Generall ; thirdlye, a warrant to Lieutenant Coll' Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Gouvernor of Oxford in Sir

¹ This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

² Alluded to in the preceding letter.

Thomas Glemhams¹ absence ; fourthly, a warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will: Legge² present Gouvernour of Oxford ; and lastlye, a warrant to be directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extremitie as shall bee hereafter specified, and not otherwise. As for the circumstances and the timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers³ care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, w^{ch} is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thing be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makinge S^r Thomas Glemham Gouvernour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliury of my letter to my Nephew, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nephew be not there, I would then haue you hasten my letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

The warrant for my Nephews commitment is onlye that you may haue the power to doe it, if in

¹ The King appears to have reposed great confidence in Sir Thomas Glemham, notwithstanding his surrender of Carlisle on the 28th of June preceding ; which, however, had not taken place till after a long siege, and when he had reason finally to despair of succour. Indeed he had distinguished himself, from the first, in the Royal Cause ; having been second in command in Yorkshire, under the Earl of Cumberland.

² This is a piece of private history not noticed in the Peerage ; but it is right to add that the King's suspicions of his old and faithful friend, the ancestor of the present family of Dartmouth, were subsequently ascertained to be without the slightest foundation.

³ Sir John Culpepper.

stead of submitinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raysinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in w^{ch} case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to be directed unto, and by that person to be putt in execution. Lastlye I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whateuer is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetie and preservation, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

HEREFORD, *Sept: 14th* 1645.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knocked in the head then that he should doe soe meane an action as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort¹ upon the termes it was.
C. R.

R: 17^o 7^{bris} 1645; by Mr. North. The King to me.

Copie of Pr: Ruperts &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke.²

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie},
Whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Ma^{tie}, to make our seuerall

¹ The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprising, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert possessed at the time 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrels of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries; on the other hand, he had not more than sixteen days' provisions for such a force. But the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, had reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

² The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice. The King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose among

grievances knowne, Wee find we haue drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Ma^{tie} thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Ma^{tie}, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue giuen such testimony to your Ma^{tie} and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Ma^{ties} person and cause, doe thinke our selves unhappy to lye under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpretation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Ma^{tie}, rather in writing than personnally, which are these:

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Ma^{ties} service, haue not only our com[']ission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and wee rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince; but many others (as we have cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Ma^{tie}, and our submissiue desires, now are: that yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbee graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and inca-

his confidential officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Bellasis, the Governor, and several others; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their commissions, as Burton declares in his *Civil Wars*. This Petition now printed, however, seems to imply positively that their commissions were taken from them. There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of these affairs by the various contemporary writers of the period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, page 127, et seq.; and to the notices by Clarendon.

capacity to serve your Ma^{ties}, may at a Councell of Warre, receive knowledge of the cause of your Ma^{ties} displeasure, and have the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government; and if upon the severest examinac^{on} our integrity and loyalty to your Ma^{ties} shall appeare, that then your Ma^{ties} be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the _____ of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of

Your Ma^{ties}
most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NEWARKE 10 Oct: 1645.

Nicholas,

none of yours haue yet miscarried, haueing yesternight receaved your 14th letter: before this, I hope, S^r Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I have com^{anded} to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons; & least he should not be bould anufe, haueing yet but a verball com^{and}, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerein be dewly executed, whomsoever it may concerne: As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com^{and} you to send me the two Colonels Fox & Murray;¹ being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake forth into a *lactea via*, leading to peace:

	Will: Legge	no	suspicion
For what	concernes	401	I haue 229 : 511 : 231 :
of	but	what	Lo: Digby
109 :	305 :	358 :	96 : 316 : 166 : 176 : 147 : 213 :

¹ The whole of this affair is curious, and little noticed in the histories.

83 : me, w^{ch} satisfies me as to 305 : 174 : 166 :
 have done but not him guilty
 122 : 109 : 229 : 17 : belue 169 : 24 : 43 : 78 :
 of trickery more
 4 : 18 : 79 : 35 : 231 : 521 : before I see 221 :
 particular proofs !
 467 : 72 : 1 : 54 : 57 : 7 : 51 : Our North-
 erne newes² we hope to be as good as your
 but
 Westernne, though yet not so fully ratified, 109 :
 in confidence thereof I
 176 : 350 : 29 : 58 : 35 : 277 : 2 : 231 : 174 :
 fit to advance
 thinke 143 : 290 : 87 : 43 : 31 : 27 : 61 : 36 :
 a days or two's march
 10 : 82 : 20 : 118 : 51 : 232 : 568 : 212 : 60 :
 and if Montrose be in that part as
 96 : 175 : 417 : 104 : 176 : 276 : 113 : 99 :
 I hope he is there I
 174 : 172 : 167 : 181 : 30 : 277 : 28 : and 174 :
 intend to joyne
 176 : 19 : 38 : 27 : 85 : 10 : 290 : 179 : 28 : 37 :
 wth
 30 : 303 : 169 : So hoping shortly to send you
 more certanty of our good newes, & how I shall
 dispose of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

my wyfe
 This inclosed is for 224 : 68 : 47 : 7 : 35.

"For your selfe."

10^o 8^{bris} 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Mat^{tie} to me concerning
 Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8^{ber} Col: W. Murrey was
 sent for by the Lo^{dds}, & his Mat^{ties} pleasure signified to him
 to attend y^e King accordingly.

¹ It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on false statements.

² Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland; but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NEWARKE 16 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for w^{ch} I hartely thanke you, wee being very much cheered by your frequent dispatches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doing: I wrote to you upon

Fryday last, w^{herin} there was a letter for 224 : 68 : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : and lykewise in that dispatche (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answerd concerning the Gouernor of the Deuyses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton: so that now I haue but fower

particulars to answer: I begin with 277 : 126 : 231 :
 Norwich¹

431 : about whome I embrace and thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly; secondly for Mr. Atturny,² tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button: wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I shall know what I haue to doe; as for Rainsford, let the Judges proceede: lastly concerning 200:

the Duke of York
 277 : 125 : 231 : 541 : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 :

¹ Previously spoken of as General Goring.

² Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 :
 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 :
 (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 :
 10 : 213 : 229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 :
 279 : 290 : 169 :) 277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 :
 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 : this is all, so I rest.

Your most asseured frend,
 CHARLES R.

settle an intelligence

Methinks you might 51 : 35 : 17 : 4 : 36 : 10 : 31 :

to yr next by London

27 : 391 : 290 : 277 : 525 : 110 : 400 : 300 :

I send you heerewith the trew copy of an intelli-
 gence from neere Ferrebriges, from one who hath
 the report of a discreet honnest man : by the Army
 he meanes Digby and Landale,¹ w^{ch} part I belue
 trew ; but for the former, I know the particular of
 my Wyfe, false : & for the rest, I leaue you to judge,
 not yet knowing what to say.

341 : 209 : 266 : 27 : 10 : 390 : 51 : 20 : 290 :
 151 : 436 : 391 : 148 : 400 : 307 : 147 : 174 : 1 : 35 :
 58 : 54 : 75 : 77 : 36 : 28 : 83 : 37 : 169 : 290 : 316 :

16^o 8^{bris} 1645. R. 22^o. The King to me concerning making
 y^e Earl of Norw'ch Capt: of the Garde, & the Attor^r Herberts
 removall.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

my intenc'ons are

Nicolas, : 224 : 176 : 289 : 17 : 180 : 53 : 20 :

by God's helpe to

98 : (110 : 157 : 29 : 60 : 39 : 36 : 4 : 74 : 37 :) 290 :

breake through ye Rebelles

14 : 3 : 37 : 34 : 64 : 38 : 283 : 277 : 475 : 18 :

forces and get to Oxon^s to w^{ch}

374 : 53 : 600 : 96 : 152 : 290 : 443 : 290 : 308 :

¹ Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

² To this plan, Bulstrode tells us, the King was led by the
 circumstance of the parliamentary army being now in force
 on the North side of the Trent. The whole of the letter

end my passage may
 128 : and that 224 : 238 : 52 : 33 : 26 : 37 : 209 :
 be with more ease &
 104 : 303 : 221 : 38 : 32 : 52 : 35 : 40 : 96 : 70 :
 security
 53 : 37 : 59 : 43 : 3 : 79 : 29 : 49 : I would haue you
 acquaint the Gouvernor with these commands from
 me; that he send all the horse that may
 be spared from Oxon
 sibly 104 : 53 : 74 : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 : 148 : 443 :
 to Banbury on Sunday next directions
 290 : 329 : 233 : 554 : 227 : with these 83 : 78 : 2 :
 to the Comander
 36 : 59 : 19 : 79 : 233 : 53 : 290 : 277 : 346 : 36 :
 in Chief keeps
 3 : 176 : 59 : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 ; that he 183 : 53 :
 scouts to wards
 59 : 56 : 44 : 19 : 52 : 290 : 68 : 33 : 2 : 83 : 53 :
 Daventry &
 70 : 84 : 37 : 43 : 38 : 27 : 17 : 3 : 47 : 90 : 96 : 300 :
 Harburrow
 39 : 34 : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 : 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 : 200 :
 & diligently should
 96 : 83 : 79 : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 : 29 : 19 : 207 : 42 : 57 :
 intelligence with the Gov'nor of Bel-
 voir, of what forces ly
 36 : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 : 231 : 305 : 374 : 53 : 207 :
 in partes my resolution
 176 : those 239 : 53 : 224 : 3 : 37 : 266 : 4 : 46 :
 to goe that way
 19 : 180 : being 290 : 24 : 56 : 38 : 276 : 69 : 34 :
 if with any reasonable hazard I
 47 : 175 : 303 : 97 : 254 : 88 : 70 : 39 : 34 : 2 : 85 :
 may passe: but if
 174 : 209 : 238 : 109 : 175 : S^r Thom: Glemham¹
 findes I come not to Banbury by Thursday
 144 : 174 : 116 : 229 : 17 : 290 : 329 : 110 : 551 :

being in cypher is an evidence of the King's great desire for secrecy, and is also in agreement with his well-known habit of imparting his resolutions to none, except to two or three of the nearest trust about him.

¹ Then Governor of Oxford.

next come senight then
 227 : 116 : 263 : 27 : 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 : 277 : 29 :
 he may draw back
 167 : 209 : 83 : 3 : 34 : 69 : 20 : 16 : 32 : 59 : 64 :
 the horse secrecy
 277 : 173 : you must remember that 53 : 37 : 58 : 1 :
 in this particular
 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 : 279 : 239 : 79 : 59 : 43 : 4 : 34 :
 must be your cheifest
 3 : 215 : 104 : 317 : 59 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 : 53 :
 care tell the Gouvernor
 19 : 112 : I will only allow you to 274 : 277 : 379 :
 of it who must be
 232 : 231 : 182 : 320 : 215 : 104 : answerable for the
 discretion &
 124 : 59 : 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 : 80 : 84 : 78 : 207 :
 dilligence of the person
 24 : 38 : 27 : 58 : 38 : 231 : 277 : 73 : 37 : 3 : 53 :
 that shall comand those
 233 : 276 : 52 : 39 : 94 : 346 : 17 : 39 : 54 : 53 :
 horse in cheif
 38 : 173 : 176 : 58 : 39 : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 : so I rest
 Your most asseured frend,
 CHARLES R.

NEWARKE 29 Oct: 1645.
 Giue me an account of this:
 29 8^{bris} 1645. The King to me by Parsons.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir Henry Vane the Younger.¹

Sr,
 You cannot suppose the work is donn, though God should suffer you to destroy the King : the miseryes

¹ This and the letter which follows it are remarkable illustrations of the secret history of the time. The royal overtures to Vane came to the knowledge of Essex, who complained of them by letter to the House of Lords. On inquiry, however, it turned out that Vane had communicated them already to the Speaker, to a Committee of the House of Commons of which he was a member, and to the Scots Commissioners.

which will ineuitably follow are soe plaine in view, that it is more then necessary some speedy expedient be found for their preuention. Is it not cleere to you (to me it is) that Spaine and ffrance will instantly conclude a peace : and that ffrance makes great preparations to ioyn with the Scotts (when the breach betweene you and them shall happen) whilst Spaine labours to be Protector of Ireland, and will vndoubtedly carry itt. Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this designe, when the wealth of this nation is already so exhausted, and the sufferings of the people soe great, that they are no longer to be supported. This is reason, tis not to cast a bone amongst you : The only remedye is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you sett your selfe, the gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your freinds to preuaile, that the King may come to London vpon the termes he hath offered ; where, if Presbitery shall be soe strongly insisted vpon as that there can be noe peace without itt, you shall certainly haue all the power my master can make to ioyn with you in rooting out of this kingdome that tyrannicall Gouernment ; with this condition, that my master may not haue his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire opertunity, the like was never offered, nor euer will be ; for itt brings all things of benifitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular ; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & you freinds : and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt ; waigh itt sadly, and againe relye upon me. Bee confident, that neither he that carryes this, nor he that deliuers it to you, knowes any thing of itt. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom by the King.

"This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen. Vane the Younger by my comand. C. R." March 2, 1645-6.

Indorsed,

2^o Martij 1645. By his Ma^{ties} comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth y^e Kings owne hand.

Copy of another Letter from the King to Sir Henry Vane the Younger.

S^r,

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last: that you hasten my business all that possibly you can; the occasion lately giuen being fairer than euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessityes, but if it were necessary soe to doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all: trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I haue donn. If I haue not an answeare within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. (*Not signed.*)

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King.

"This is a true Copie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my comand to Sir Henry Vane the younger. C. R."

The King's promise to Mons. de Montreuil concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army.

I do promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come with me to the Scots army, or meet me there, who are excepted by those att London, but only my two nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham.¹

¹ The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. But a very short time before, he was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham: after which he joined the Scottish army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is accused of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode

Notwithstanding, the said Montreull is to receave this my protestation, that all my seruants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shalbe saved from ruine, or any publique dishonour ; which is a condition that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise Cardinall Mazarine,¹ were absolutely of opinion that I was sooner to dye, than not to haue. As for Church Gouvernement, as I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that as-soone as I come into the Scotts army, I shall be very willing to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouvernement : whereupon they shall see, that I shall striue to content them in any thing, that shall not be against my conscience.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

"The King's promise to Monsieur de Montreuil² concerning those that should come wth him to y^e Scots army: w^{ch} promise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the King ; but wthout date."

(in his *Memoirs*) asserts that when Charles arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and Ashburnham went up stairs to the King's bed-chamber to announce to him that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming, "And is this all ! Then I am betrayed !"

¹ Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France, in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of the Isle du Rhe, and Rochelle. It is curious to compare this opinion of Mazarine with the well-authenticated fact that, notwithstanding his outward appearance of friendship for the King, he was keeping up a good correspondence with the Parliament through the medium of Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador.

² Montreuil, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King ; for all the contemporary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c., assert that he had promised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NEW CASTLE 16 Maij 1646.

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, merely to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford.¹ ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, so that I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example: the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all myseruaunts who wilbe willing to come (of w^{ch} number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods w^{ch} I haue there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make better conditions: ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discrec'ons (the gouernor being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue no more to say, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,
CHARLES R.²

Indorsed.

"16^o Maij 1646. R. 10^o Junii & y^e next day read to y^e Lo^{ds}.

The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treat, &c.

This lt^r & that of y^e 2^d of June were read to all y^e Lo^{ds} and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday y^e 20th of June 1646."

¹ Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, and the city was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks' continuance. The actual date of the surrender was the 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian. When this letter was written, the King was with the Scottish army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament. In Herbert's *Memoirs of the Two last years of Charles the First* there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

² This letter was written in cypher, but the figures are for

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NEW CASTELL, 2 June, 1646.

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaved but one letter from you, w^{ch} was of the 5th of May ; & this is but the 3rd that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, w^{ch} is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your guide, w^{ch} I belue wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my sonne and two nephues haue permission to com to me whersoever I shalbe : as lykewais that the freedome of y^e University be preserued, & that all my seruants, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little good to you, & troble me ; soe comandng you to asseur all my frends, that no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them ; I rest

Your most asseured frend,
CHARLES R.

I aduise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes w^{ch} I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed,

2^o Junii, 1646. R: 11^o, read to y^e L^{des} y^e next day. The King gives leave to treat.

the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Nicholas.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

NEW CASTELL, 24 June, 1646.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe w^{ch} requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you for your resolution; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher; but howsoeuer lett me heare from you as often as you can, & asseure all my frends that I am constant to all them who will not forsake themselves, of w^{ch} I know you ar none, so that I am

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

I desire

In hope my cypher is not sacrificed 209 : 141 : 56 :

63 : 17 : 67 : 429 : 360 : 341 : 250 : 78 : 31 : 18 :
 you to send me word

81 : 412 : 351 : in : no : 418 : 56 : 111 : 413 : 449 :
 where my Jewells were w^{ch} I. H.

197 : 112 : 213 : 251 : 90 : or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p :
 had, and if my Cabinet¹

413 : 209 : 234 : 409 : 429 : 121 : at : ad : 19 : if :
 w^{ch} I left wth you be burned

147 : 281 : 270 :
 or not

24^o Junii, 1646. The K. to me.*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.*

NEW CASTELL, 16 Aug:

Nicholas, I receaued yours by the last post, whereby I understand what course you intend to take, w^{ch} I approue of, yet I thinke it not necessary

¹ The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprising, when it is remembered what use had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces.

write to Marq: H. nor Earl
 [necessary] to 422 : 360 : 550 : 520 : 269 : 17 : 503 :
 of Southampton for having
 280 : 356 : 84 : 107 : 43 : 282 : 162 : 200 : 216 :
 [erased]
 258 : 133 : 280 : 366 : selves there 365 : 280 : 251 :
 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 : 431 : 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 :
 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 : 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 :
 361 : 319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Friends, & assure them of my constancy ; and I assure you that I have sent where you are going, being confident that you will be very well received there, so I rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16^o Aug. 1646. The King to me.¹

In the handwriting of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The Reasons why his Ma^{ty} thought good to send his Proposition of y^e ... of December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Ma^{ty} hath noe Army at all, nor any forces but what are in his garrisons.

Noe means or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his officers, or to supply or pay his garrisons, but the contribuc'ons of the country, w^{ch} being wasted by y^e souldiers of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are redly every day to rise ag^t his Ma^{ties} garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe

¹ This part of the correspondence is important, as it took place about the period when the Scottish army were engaged in the negotiations for the surrender of the King to the English Parliament. In a Glasgow publication of Original Letters (1766) there is one from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, "many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself." This letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the time when Charles refused to agree to the Scottish propositions.

the heavy pressures w^{ch} y^e necessitys of his Ma^{ties} souldiors & y^e absence of his Ma^{ties} Governm^t dayly put upon them.

That his Ma^{ty} having lost Bristoll, hath no meanes to be supplied from forraigne parts wth armes or munition, or materialls for making of either, of w^{ch} he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an army ag^t y^e next Spring : for that all Wales was lost p^esently after y^e losse of Bristoll, and since that, Munmouth & Hereford.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost : Newark & Belvoir Castle¹ are besieged & in danger.

In y^e west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great divisions amongst the cheif officers, and the Councell that attend y^e Prince, as for want of condvct these forces are disunited, and y^e country soe disaffected to them by reason of the soldiors rapine and oppression, as y^e country rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonsh^e.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p^rvisions can passe into it, & it is not supplied for many monthes. is possessed by S^r Tho. ffairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

S^r Tho. Fairfax & Crumwell haue lately sent into these p^rtes neere 1500 of their best horse, w^{ch} shewes that they are much too strong for his Ma^{ties} forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioyn wth other forces w^{ch} are to come from London under Coll: Ringingborrow, & all that can

¹ The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garrisoned by the King's forces.

be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (w^{ch} it is beleueed will in all make noe less than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & are designd p^esently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Ma^{ty} p^esent condition in England, and there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdome in any tyme to assist his Ma^{ty} :

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in y^e highlands, or noe neerer than Glascoe, & in what condition his Ma^{ty} is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him :

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p^rmisses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Ma^{ty} any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publickly declared ag^t those att London :

Upon these considerations his Ma^{ty} resolved to send to London y^e P^rpositions, w^{ch} being as low as he can goe wth p^eserving of his conscience and hon^r he doubts not but God will give a blessing to y^e his intentions ; And that if his s^{ts} doe not harken to y^e reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed, Reasons why his Ma^{ty} sent his Proposic^ons to London, dated *Dec^r*, 1646.

The King to the Speaker of the House of Peers.

HOLMBY [HOLDENBY], 6 Martij. 1646-7.

C. R.

It being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you ; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains,¹

¹ This letter was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and three months pre-

whom I esteem & reuerence, is that w^{ch} is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlem't of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being grounded upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons w^{ch} no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion w^{ch} haue, & wilbe offred unto me, wthout such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altred in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to striue for victory in argum't, but to seeke to submit to truth, according to that judgem't wh^{ch} God hath giuen me; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentm't to my two Houses of Parl't in all things w^{ch} I conceiue not to be against my conscience or hon'. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parl't assembled at Westm'r.

Indorsed,

6^o Mar: 1647. Coppy of y^e King's 2d lt^r for some of his Chaplaines.

vious to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army. A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's memoirs of the two last years of the unhappy monarch. There is a remarkable passage alluding to them in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23rd January, 1647; where he says, "His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for anything. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well."

A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own handwriting:

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them: w^{ch} condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall no^t differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, w^{ch} they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

"A Note written with y^e Kings owne pen concerning his going to y^e Scotts."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

OATLANDS, 19 Aug. 1647.¹

Nicholas to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart² to answer some particulars in your last letter: this being only to thanke you for your aduertisements & freedome: desyring you still to continue the same, asseuring you that I haue a particular care of you, w^{ch} I hope shortly shall be visible to all the world: so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

OATLANDS, ⁹₁₉ Aug. 1647.

His Ma^{ties} lt^r to me.

¹ It was on the 3rd of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August. Soon after, he removed to Hampton Court.

² Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Yo^r fidelity & industry in our service & eminent affecc'ons to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten ; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic'con for it. As an earnest whereof at present you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence w^{ch} you haue had with us. We thanck you for yo^r severall letters & aduises, and are very tenderly sensible of yo^r pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinck you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yo^r family, there being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence w^{ch} permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet in good time take them off. Doe you continue yo^r affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yo^r of

Your most asseured Frend,

CHARLES R.

From Newport in y^e Isle of Wight, 24 Novemb: 1648.¹
To Secr: Nich'as.

in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. See *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 325.

¹ The several historical facts, to which this letters refers, are too well known to require comment ; but the letter itself is an important testimony to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II. alluded to in a subsequent communication to that prince respecting the office of Secretary.

*His Ma^{tie} Farewell Speech unto y^e Lords Com^{rs}ioners
at Newport in y^e Isle of Wight.¹*

“My Lords,

You are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe : —but Gods will be done. I thanke God I haue made my peace wth him, & shall wthout feare undergoe what he shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yo^r owne, and that also neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

I am fully informed of y^e whole carriage of y^e plott against me & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of y^e sufferings of my subjects, and y^e mischief that hangs ouer my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends.”

These words his Ma^{tie} deliuered wth much alacrity and cheerefullnes, wth a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

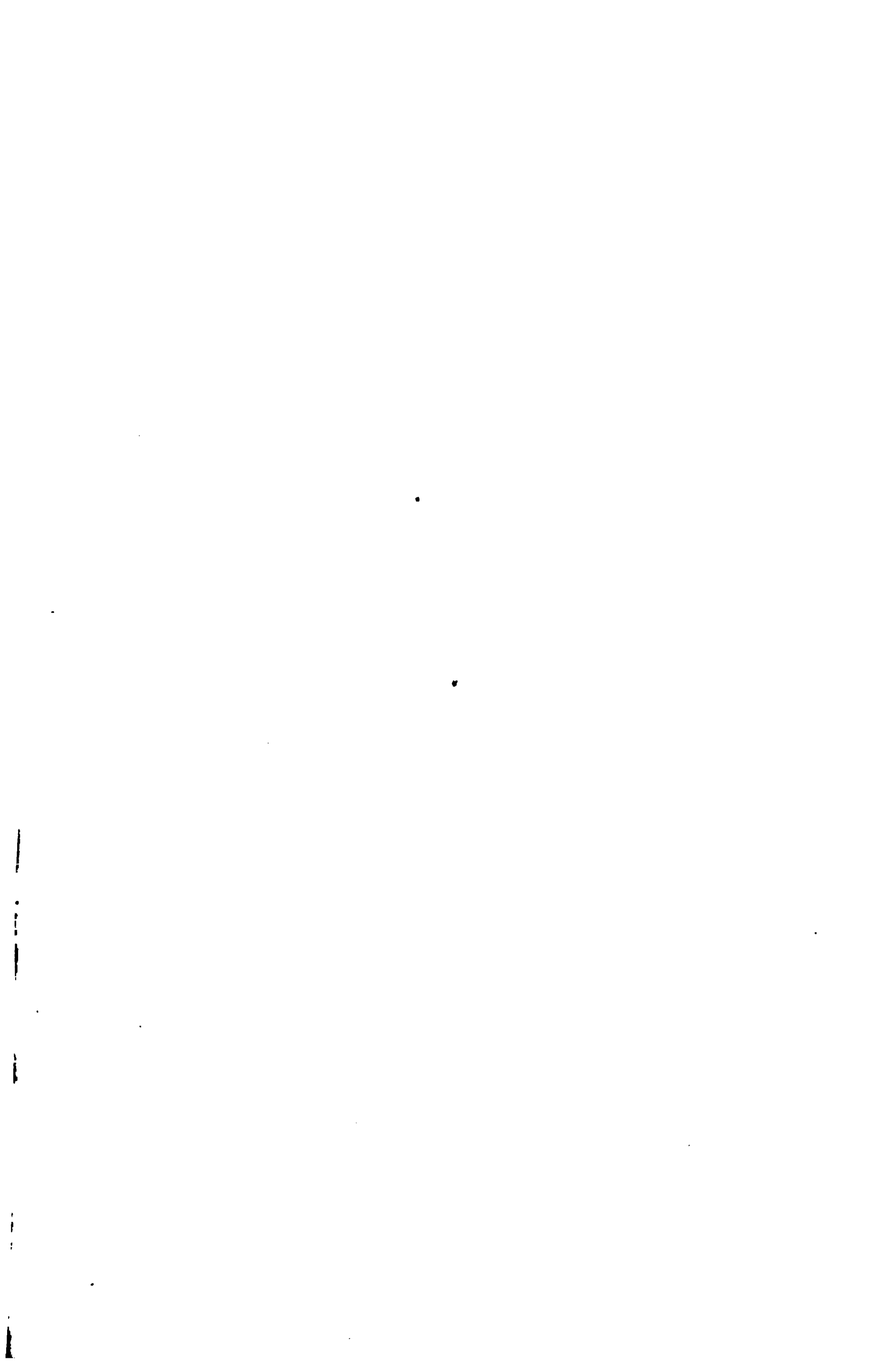
Thus he parted wth y^e Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in y^e other hearers.²

His Ma^{ties} farewell Speech to the Lo^{des} at Newport, 1^o Dec. 1648.

¹ The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex ; Viscount Say and Sele ; Lord Wenman ; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew, Bulkeley ; Sirs Henry Vane, jun., Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts ; Serjeants Glynne and Browne, and some others.

² This conference took place almost immediately before the King's death. On the 4th of December took place the third day's debate in the House of Commons of the question whether the royal concessions in the Newport treaty were a ground of settlement ; which, at five o'clock next morning, was resolved in the affirmative by a majority of 129 to 83. The day following, Wednesday the 6th of December, was the day of Pride's Purge. Within a month from that date the King was brought to trial ; and on the 29th January, 1648-9, the death-warrant was signed.

CORRESPONDENCE OF
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS
AND
VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL
FAMILY ;
DURING THE
COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.





Robt Walker

J. Smith

OLIVER CROMWELL.

CORRESPONDENCE OF
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS AND THE ROYAL
FAMILY,

AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES I.

THE subjoined letters, in continuation of the preceding correspondence, will be found to require little illustrative comment. They embrace the brief and unsuccessful royalist campaign which closed on the field of Worcester; they contain illustrations of Charles the Second's distrust and dislike of his Presbyterian friends and supporters; but they derive perhaps their chief interest from the gossiping details in which the deceased King's sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia, so largely indulges, and in which the fears and jealousies, the enjoyments and privations of the Exiles, the fluctuation of her nephew's hopes, Cromwell's assumption of power, the vagaries of the errant Queen of Sweden, the attempts of the Queen-mother Henrietta to make Roman Catholics of her children, and the childhood of that young Prince of Orange for whom those attempts were preparing a throne, are curiously and impartially mixed up. The letter of earnest remonstrance to the Duke of Gloucester, "concerning his being tempted to turne papist," bearing the signature of his elder brother, is a somewhat strange comment on the faith in which Charles the Second died.

PARIS, Nov. 6, 1649. St. No. 1

Sir,

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packet, give me leaue to tell you, that together with this booke w^{ch} I send you, there came in half a

¹ Charles, at the period of his father's death, was at the Hague with his brother in law, the Prince of Orange; after which he went to France to join his mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm among the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no farther than Jersey, where he

D. Richmond
Ea: Arundell
Ea: Derby
Ea: Norwich
E. South'ton
Sir Art.
Hopton, Mr.
Cha. Exch.
L'd Hatton.

more full Councell of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished integrity, whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise y^e reputac'on of yo^r Councell from that greate contempt it lyes under both at home and abroad; & whereby forraigne Pr^{ces} may be encouraged to assist yo^r Ma^{tie}, & yo^r Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

If for want of such a setled & ho^{ble} Privy Councell, yo^r Ma^{tie} shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yo^r party in Engla: nor advantage yo^r aff^{res}. Besides yo^r Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by y^e same obliged to be secreat, & y^e others shalbe att liberty & under noe tye att all.

My humble advise therefore is, that yo^r Ma^{tie} forthwth endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such ho^{ble}, experienced, & faithfull p'sons, as may be equall to y^e great importaunce of yo^r p'sent aff^{res}, & above y^e contempt that yo^r now Councell lyes under, aswell in yo^r owne Court, as abroad, wthout w^{ch} it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yo^r greate businesses.

As for my owne particular,¹

I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St. Germaines y^r Ma^{tie} comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre^{'ie}, & to that end

¹ De Larrey, a French contemporary writer formerly quoted, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, was as faithful to the son as to the father. "Charles II. recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from country to country."

yo^r Ma^{tie} comaunded me to gett prepared a signet, and other provisions fitting, w^{ch} accordingly I p^rvided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yo^r Ma^{tie}, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Sec^rie. And since I came hither, yo^r Ma^{tie} tould me I should be sworne, as soon as I came into Irla: Now since yo^r Ma^{tie} goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yo^r Ma^{ties} dep^rture from hence :

1. Because, I know y^e busines belonging to a Sec^rie of State ought not to be p^rformed by one that is not sworne in y^e place.

2. For that y^e busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that credit & esteeme, as is requisitt for y^e advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yo^r Royale father 7 yeares in that office) to execute any considerable p^rte thereof, & not be established in it by oath, w^{ch} only can make a man capable of p^rformaunce of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} obiection, that if you sweare me, you must doe y^e like for Mr. Long,¹ is rather a discouragement then a satisfac^rcon to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yo^r Royall father would have mov^d yo^r Ma^{tie} to make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac^ron in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yo^r Ma^{tie} wilbe pleased either to give order that I may be sworne yo^r Ma^{ties} Sec^rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave wth yo^r Ma^{ties} gracious favour, to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yo^r Ma^{ties} affaires.

" For yo^r Ma^{tie}."

Indorsed, " Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey, 31 *de Janvier*.
St. V^x 1649."

¹ Mr. Long appears to have been engaged as secretary to Charles in a quasi-private capacity, for his name is not entered upon any of the official lists. The King, influenced most probably by his mother, showed much favour to him.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Charles R.

In regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise wth all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councillors in a considerable proporc'on answerable to y^e importaunce of our affaires.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councill in y^e managem^t and determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe S^r Edw: Nicholas in y^e office and place of one of our principall Secretaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as soone as Wee shall dismissee Rob^t Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the 14-24th of ffebr: 1649-50.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

ST. JOHNSTONS: Sept. 3, 1650.¹

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes w^{ch} I desire you to fill up as you shall haue

It is perhaps not irrelevant also to observe, that if the hand-writing of the rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long must have proved successful against Sir Edward; his mode of writing being singularly precise and clear, whilst that of Nicholas is often scarcely intelligible.

¹ Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when the Presbyterians crowned him King. Charles sailed from Schevling in Holland, in the preceding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States. It was on the day when the above letter was written, Cromwell's "fortunate day," that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June; and towards the latter end of July, Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.

Marq: Hertford

occasion, there are two com'issions for 445 : 388 : that
 if one should miscarey the other might serue. I
 haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to
 the Prince of Orange,¹ that if you should haue
 occasion of his assistance you may use it ; but pray
 haue a care that you doe not press him about money,
 for I haue had so much from him allready that it
 were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer
 will acquaint you with my condition much better
 than I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to

you, that you cannot imaien ^{the vilaney of the} 245 x3 : 160 : m8 : 8 :

(illegible) [&] ^{their} 191 : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : p : 64 : 49 : v6 :

^{party} 104 : 47 : 213 : 7 : indeed it has done me a great

deale of good, for nothing could ^{have confirmed} 138 : 81 : 109 :

14 : 12 : 2 : ^{me more to the} 170 : 13 : 220 : 242 : 245 : bb :

Church ^{of} ^{England} 254 : 73 : n8 : 349 : 153 : then being x9 : 26 :

^{here} ^{scing} ^{theire} ^{hippocrisy²} 139 : 69 : t3 : 151 : w5 : s3 : c4 : 20 : q6 : 75 :

^{the D: of Yorke's} h : 8 : v2 : I shall send 245 : 575 comission and

Lo: Gerrard's 374 : 49 : by Oudart, who I will dispatch within
 this 2 or 3 days. I had almost forgot a bussines of
 great importance, it is to speke to the Pr: of Orange

to send hether ^{a smack or} 218 : 30 : 4 : 169 : 44 : 38 : n7 :

^a ^{herring} ^{buss} ^{with} ^{five} ^{or} 12 : e8 : gg : w : 5 : 262 : 111 : x2 : 190 :

¹ Father of William the Third.

² This not to be mistaken allusion to the men who had just placed the crown upon the writer's head is sufficiently illustrative of the character of Charles. A report that he had been obliged to perform public Kirk-penance by the Presbyterians is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in *Bromley's Royal Letters*, p. 153.

six men to lie here pre tre n
 229 : 39 : 19 : w2 : k4 : 33 : f5 : r4 : 240 : 25 :
di n g it is to carrey ouer
 yy : 45 : 34 : 145 : g5 : 242 : 80 : s3 : 7 : p7 :
a messenger when
 64 : 30 : 170 : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : x7 : aq :
there is occasion
 w5 : 220 : 147 : 477 : I being at the charge of
I would have
 keeping them when they are here. 141 : z3 : 138 :
the vessel come to
 245 : r8 : x2 : 4 : 228 : 24 : 44 : nn : 47 : w2 :

Montrose

171 : m6 : 222 : t3 : 320 :¹ I would haue you
 and Mr. Atorney to stay in holland as being the
 place that is the neerest to this Kingdome and
 where I shall haue occasion of your services : I have
 no more to say to you at the present but to assure
 that I am and euer will be

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

The King to Mrs. Twisden.²

M^{rs} Twisden,

Hauing assurance of your readines to performe
 what I desired of you by my Letter of the 7th of
 February from Jersey, according to your Brothers
 promise, in order to the conveying to me the George
 and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue
 againe imployed this bearer (in whom I haue very
 much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said
 George and Seales into his hand for me, assuring
 you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to ac-
 knowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys

¹ This of course is a plan for his own escape if necessary, and another proof of the small reliance he was placing upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyalty is not very material ; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of his own safety, independent of their exertions.

² This is not printed from the original, but taken from a copy.

and good affections, in a particular soe deerly valued by me, soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service don to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

ST. JOHNSTON, 2 8^{ber}, 1650.

The King to Mr. William Hinton.

Mr. William Hinton,

Your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to conueye or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sumes of money, as either you haue or shalbe able to procure by loane, or otherwise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply: and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to y^e support of my occasions, y^t I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content: and will particularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to

Your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

ST. JOHNSTONS, 2. 8^{ber}, 1650.

¹ This letter, taken from a copy, contains further proof how much more anxious Charles now was for a safe escape to the Continent than sanguine of success from the state of his affairs in Scotland.

The King to Sir John Greenville.

S^r John Greenville,¹ considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West,² for recovering my just rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and oportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to provide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of y^e garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion: In w^{ch} busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured, that w^t you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and y^e esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am

Your loving friend,
CHARLES R.

ST. JOHNSTONS, 2 Oct. 1650.

The King to Sir Richard Grenville.

S^r Rich: Greenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the diverse affecc'ons and dispositions of

¹ He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

² Thoroughly weary of the thraldom of obligation to the Scotch Covenanters, this and the following letter (both of which are taken from copies) contain evidence of the writer's anxiety again to engage the service of the English royalists. See also a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 152.

y^e people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affecc'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my imployments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discerne and app^hend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to p^{re}vent the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from

Your very louing friend,
CHARLES R.

St. JOHNSTONS, 2^d of 8th, 1650.

The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir Edw. Nicolas, though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconuenience: but that now vpon the death of the Prince of Orange,¹ I haue more neede of your councell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper² for monye to defray the charges of the Kings horses; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would aduise me wheither I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to

¹ Who died on the 24th of this month.

² The first peer of that name. He joined the deceased King's councils at the same time with Hyde and Falkland; was an exile, for twelve years, with his son; and on the Restoration was made Master of the Rolls.

lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not: the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this councell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it: desiring you to beleieve that I shall euer be

Your very affectionat friend,

JAMES.

BRUXELLS, *Nouem.* 12. 1650.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

2-12° *No^{b^{ris}}*, 1650. R. 8-18°. The D. of Yorke from Bruxells to me.

Copie of y^e Dukes Letter to my Lord Culpeper.

My Lord, the Kinges horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Ma^y, and cannot be sold to their worth: therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserued, and the best of y^e horses still kept for y^e Kings use: wth w^{ch} I am sure his Ma^{ty} wilbe well pleased.

I rest your louinge friend,

JAMES.

BRUXELLS, *Novemb.* 12, 1650.

The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.¹

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had you not heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am

¹ This letter was written after the battle of Worcester, fought on the same day as that of Dunbar, the 3rd of September. It was on the 2nd of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say anything more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be

Your most assured freind,

JAMES.

PARIS, Nou. 18, 1651.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

PARIS, April 6, 1652.

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28 of the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour,¹ by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions and directions concerning your selfe, w^{ch} the unsettlednesse of my condition heitherto hath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon noe mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall allwais find me to be

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Princess Dowager of Orange to Sir Edward Nicholas.

BREDA, 21 July, 1653.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all y^r letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continu, but

¹ Sir Edward Hyde; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658.

² This letter has reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The negotiations were finally settled on the 5th May, 1654.

your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in y^r opinion. I am very vnertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remoue,¹ who I wish with all my hart would not come into thesse parts till hee sees what becoms of the treaty, for I do much aprehend at last thay will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Ma^{ties} reception will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige

Your affectionate friend,

MARIE.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

PARIS, Sept: 28, 1653.²

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceau by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me w^{ch} I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you meete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, w^{ch} haue bene most conducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party w^{ch} hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there harty frind, and be very carfull to aduance there

¹ Charles was then at Paris. From a letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependence on Dutch friendship was greater than his sister's. He believed that the eagerness to conclude a treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. See *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 158.

² This letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part refer evidently to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Befort.

interest, and to requite there good will : In the particular w^{ch} you and S^r M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall, untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Mon^r Be: (to whom you are to commende me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable : if you haue interest in any discreete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I do ;¹ proceede as you haue begun, w^{ch} is very acceptable to

Your constant louing frind,

CHARLES R.

Copie of the Kings (Charles II.) Letter to the Duke of Glocester, concerning his being tempted to turne Papist.

COLOGNE, Nov: 10 : 1654.²

Deare Brother,

I have receaued yo^r without a date in w^{ch} you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeauord to pervert you from yo^r religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well y^e com[']ands I left wth you at my going away concerning y^e point. I am confident you will observe them : yet yo^r letters that come from Paris say that it is y^e Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yo^r religion,³ in w^{ch} if you do hearken to

¹ Charles's mode of expression here is worth remarking. Policy obliged him so often to express favour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, that the addition of "as indeede I do" seems necessary on occasion as a guarantee of good faith.

² Charles left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany. This letter oddly contrasts with what the writer afterwards became.

³ In some private instructions given by Charles to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage expressing the same anxiety about his brother, and strongly marking the Queen-mother's breach of promise on

her or any body els in that matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & w^{soeuer} mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being y^e only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely y^e cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yo^r King & Country. Do not lett them p^suade you either by force or faire p^mises; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed y^t there is a purpose to putt you into y^e Jesuits' Colledge, w^{ch} I command you upon y^e same grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soever any body shall goe to dispute wth you in religion doo not answeare them at all. For though you haue the reasoⁿ on yo^re side, yett they being prepared will haue y^e aduantage of any body y^t is not upon y^e same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember the last words of yo^re dead Father, w^{ch} were to bee constant to yo^r religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. W^{ch} if you doe not obserue, this shall bee y^e last time you will heare from

(Deare Brother)

yo^r most affectionate brother,

CHARLES R.

the subject. "I have told you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it." See *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 108. The "Mr. Montague" alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's confessor. Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, speaks of his "busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal." Some further particulars of this bigoted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in p. 676, vol. II. of the *Sidney Papers*. And see *ante*, p. 75.

The Queen of Bohemia¹ to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelie arriued and all your companie at Aix,² and that you found the King and my Neece³ so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knownen them. I beleue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, S^r Charles Cottrell⁴ shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Sweden :⁵ she gaue an assignation to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess⁶ of Tarente and most

¹ Sister to Charles the First ; a woman whose beauty and spirit increased the sympathy justly due to her misfortunes. She had lost her eldest son shortly before her husband's death. Her second son was Charles Louis, the exiled Elector Palatine ; her third, the Prince Rupert ; her youngest, the Prince Maurice. Through her daughter Sophia, afterwards Electress of Hanover, the present royal family occupy the English throne. The letters now printed are very interesting specimens of her style of correspondence, and form an apt and valuable commentary upon the graver records of this important period.

² Aix-la-Chapelle.

³ Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

⁴ Repeatedly mentioned in letters from the Elector Palatine to his mother, preserved in Bromley's Collection. He appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

⁵ The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia ; and Christina was not a little jealous of Elizabeth's distinguished correspondents, among whom she at this time numbered Des Cartes and Admiral Penn. Christina, who had just treated and negotiated with Cromwell, even after her abdication still attempted to mingle in politics. She also offered occasionally personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia ; which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of in passages of these letters.

⁶ The writer's spleen against Christina seems here to extend

of our French gallants, who came all sneaking home againe, for her greefe was so great for the beating of the Spanish armie before Arras¹ as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particullars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my godsonne² had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I am verie glad your daughter is so well, I doe not wonder at it, she is soe well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her frends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killegrew,³ she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by M^{rs} Howards letter howe great a scrape my little Nephue⁴ escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Orange's house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon Saterday, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he

itself even to her own relations: for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector, was wife to her son Charles Louis. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian cavalry. His connexion with these families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.

¹ An allusion to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis's day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

² In the Queen's letters preserved in the Bromley Collection there are also frequent allusions to this "godsonne." In one place (p. 286) she speaks of him under the name of "Tint," playfully writing to a familiar friend.

³ "Kate Killigrew," daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this lady to her Majesty in 1646, may be referred to in *Bromley's Royal Letters*, p. 135.

⁴ Afterwards William the Third.

will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrow I beleeeve I shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glade to heere that you are established in your place, which you desearve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from

Your most affectionat frend,
ELIZABETH.

HAGE, Aug. 31.

I am verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr. Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of beating the Scotch¹ is now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31^o Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3^o. 7^{bris}.
Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Sep: 7 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to S^r Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras. I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius² that the beleef of the Scotch defeat may not be continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then what you write of my deere Godsonne, and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Anwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes army,³ a Scotchman that is come from thence reports

¹ This was a trifling affair; being merely a check given to Lilburn, the Parliamentary General, who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

² Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First in Germanic diplomacy.

³ Monk commanded in Scotland at this period; having

it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Anwerp of some trouble by a discouerie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious highness, but I beleeeue you will haue more particulars of that then wee heere.¹ Dr. Earle setts forwards to morrow to Breda and so to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleeeve you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandring Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare M^{rs} Hide² is to come to my Neece in M^{rs} Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is verie fitt for itt and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer

Your most affectio

nat Frend,

I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extereme glad he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioye of it.

Indorsed, 7^o *Sep^{bris}*, 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and other Parliamentary officers.

¹ This was immediately after Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3rd of the present month that he called together his first parliament; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

² Afterwards Duchess of York. Though not yet married to the Duke, Mrs. Hyde appears to have engaged much of the royal attention at this time. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says, "I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten it shall not at all move him." Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was the youth of whose loyal and gallant infancy Sir Philip Warwick relates, that though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.



ELIZABETH,
QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

FROM "ALICE'S THIRTY YEARS."

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

HAGH, Sep: 15. (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receave a paquet from Scotland which came to Rotterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Midletons writes to Straghen from Stranaven or such a name, and from my Lo. of [illegible], and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeild, but I easilie beleue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleueed heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that S^r George Fleetwood, brother to him. that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell hadsaide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde breake with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.¹

I pray remember me to my lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15^o 7^{bris}, 1654. R: 17. Qu: of Bohemia.

¹ The letters of the Queen which follow, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her cipher, as in the letter preceding this, and that, *post*, at p. 226.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

HAGE, Sep: 21.

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending their goods to Antwerp for feare of the French.¹ Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute their priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie² so well. Boswell³ is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Mons^r de Wimmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are assembled, but Brederoke, Opdam, and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting,⁴ which I have not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuilie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I ame of your opinion.

$\frac{11}{2}$ 7^{bris}, 1654. R. $\frac{14}{4}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

¹ In consequence of the war existing in Flanders, between France and Spain.

² Sister of the late Stadtholder.

³ Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

⁴ Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these letters; and in those of Bromley's Collection, sixteen years earlier, there are several references to it.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessolving of his Parliament,¹ for being so ungratious as not to doe as he would haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb^{ors} and the other disputes; they confirme all, but it was so late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolves to stay at Aix, it is much better than Collein. I heare there is one that has heeretofore served my Lo: of Brainford² paked from Scotland to the King but three days agoe, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soonē as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before: he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is aboue fīue weekes since he came from

¹ An allusion to the transactions of the 3rd of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate. The speech to which the Queen of Bohemia refers was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House, when a member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, "that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the government but by the length of his sword."

² Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth, in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion; but was dead at the date of this letter.

thence, being come thorough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complaines of diuisions amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the packet, but it is verie common amongst my countrymen. Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie freebie but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since Sunday. Thom: Doleman¹ is heere and desires leeuue to see me, which I haue put off untill I know the Kings pleasure: for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to

Your most affectionat
frend.

HAGH, *Sep.* 29.

I bragg'd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not serued.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

29^o 7^{bris}, 1654. R: 8^{bris}. The Queene to me.

¹ Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman; and his house at Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, from which a good defence was made against Lord Manchester.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

HAGH, Oct. 2. (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie:¹ he has desired it verie handsomlie: my sonne has consented to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answere from the King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but am euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray assure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not now to him, I haue no time, for the poste is readie to goe. I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

"2^o 8^{bris}, 1654. st. No. R. 4^o. The Queene of Bohemia to me concerning y^e Kings consent for Pr^{esse} Sophia to marry Pr^{esse} Adolph, y^e King of Swedens brother."

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

HAGH, Oct. 19. (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King, to giue him humble thanks for his aprobaton of Sophies mariage. You will haue vn-derstood by Curtius all the newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King. You will finde by the English prints that they are forbidden to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parlia-

¹ Daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the reigning family of England.

ment. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad sight, whole streets quite razed; not one stone vpon another, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost, there is scarce anie house in the toun but the tyles are off. —(*A great blot on the paper.*) Apollo with leaping into my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere, who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray be confident that I am euer
Your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

I am extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindlie. I pray doe poore Curtius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

HAGH No. 16. (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two more know. I was Satterday last with my best Neece¹ at Speilng, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is [in] much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Glocester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you.—I am sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I beleue my deare Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think

¹ Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence*; especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus : all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will:¹ doth in Overizel, but I ame tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which toune was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction,² not against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleue me constantlie for I ame so

Your most affectionat frend.

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my faourit his daughter came hither upon Saterdag, and are gone this day to Teiling. I find my faourit growen euerie way to her aduantage.

$\frac{6}{18}^{\circ}$ No^{bris}, 1654. R. $\frac{9}{19}^{\circ}$. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, De: 3. (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I find you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sueden at the play, she is extrauagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well faoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players who knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgings. I lay at S^r Harry de Vics,³

¹ Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's sister.

² Evidently an allusion to the De Wit agitation, which at this moment was disturbing the United Provinces. The object was to deprive the infant Stadtholder of his official power, and give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, had been one of the articles which Cromwell urged upon the States as a *sine qua non*.

³ Sir Henry de Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers.

who was verie carefull and dilligent to doe me all the service he coulde. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indiferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my deare Nephue, and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie civill message that she was sorie she coulde not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome; I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue S^r Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither vpon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of Zolern¹ who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her: she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe² which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business,³ so as the Queen saith she will press him no further

¹ Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, the wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

² A plan for a marriage between Charles II. and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family, appears at this time to have been under discussion.

³ This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College; from which, and other designs upon his religion, he was only saved by the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services

in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right: it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

3 Dec: St: No: 1654. R. 6°. The Queene of Bohemia cons her iourney to see the Qu. of Sweeden.

The Queene of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Dec: 21. (1654.)

Mr Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue¹ is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King woulde permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he woulde make his Sister² and me verie glade: he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I ame sure our hoghen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's comming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard³ to the King, who I beleue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saterdag last. We heere nothing

to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her Confessor Montague. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., pp. 163—7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, telling much to the credit of the Marquis.

¹ The Duke of Gloucester, who had just been brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

² The Princess Dowager of Orange.

³ Lord Gerard of Bromley; a title now extinct.

of the rebells fleet heerabouts, but they say that Blag¹ is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadeur beleuees the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken: he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé² was to neither of their content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Arcdduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and woulde doe see no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement a l'improvis*, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning; after dinner she sent to know if he woulde see the play at night, he said he woulde obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come known or as vnknown, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked to haue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had—she saide he had better come unknown, so he came, and she stood all the play, railling with Mon^r Quito the Princes favourit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this: I haue heard the reason of S^r Henry de Vics iourney to Coloign:³ since it is a doting time for the kings ould Ministers of

¹ Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

² Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, being recorded to have exclaimed of her abdication—"How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining!" Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussels; and though they had their differences on the score of etiquette, they appear to have talked familiarly on meeting. "Cousin!" exclaimed Christina, "who would have thought ten years ago that we should have met at this distance from our countries?" The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affairs of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

³ It was an affair of courtship. Her Majesty again alludes to it in the next letter but one.

State, I thanke God your wife is yet aliue, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos¹ returne, you know how great a favorit he is to

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Coloigne.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

$\frac{11}{21}$ Dec: 1654. R. $\frac{14}{24}$. The Qu: of Bohemia co^s the Pr. of Condé ond the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied w^h each other.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Dec: 27 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that arch villaine Manning has receaued his iust desert.² I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest, but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is

¹ The Queen's lap-dog, already noticed.

² The assassination of this Manning, thus referred to by the Queen, is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a memoir of Charles during his exile. "Before his Majesty's departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Capt. Manning by name), discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels; who being found out, was by his Majesty's command sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery." It was by Manning that Penruddock had been betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

little news heere, the King of Sueden¹ has a sonne born to him and has and prospers exceedingly. the K. of Poland² is in Silesia, hunts and passeth his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg³ will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleueed that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde: those that were so much against him are not now so fierce: else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworth,⁴ and reverent Dick Harding, I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Mons^r Soiret from me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Jan: 4 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me that my deare nephue the D. of Gloucester was there vpon new years eue the same day I was at Teiling, but

¹ Charles Gustavus, Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

² The well-known John Casimir. The Queen's observations seem almost prophetic; the whole of Poland having been conquered by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this letter.

³ George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

⁴ Lord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars; and after Goring went to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western army. Yet Bulstrode says of him that "he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him." There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 150, &c.

when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I am extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Neece, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I am sorrie for poore S^r Henry de Vic,¹ for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no certaintie heere how the French treatie with the rebells in England goes, whither it breake or peece.² I am verie sorrie for the Countess of Mortons death,³ I pittie S^r Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in greate state: I beleue the Arch-duke⁴ wisheth her at Anwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsatisfied with her and will not come at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his preten- tion to Sueden vpon condition that he berecompenced with some lande or Islande for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne

¹ Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark.

² In January the cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé appear to have been meddling with these affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in Bromley's collection, p. 186.

³ Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

⁴ Archduke of Austria.

nor can buy anie lande under the croune of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell woulde send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie vnwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all Kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as¹

your most affectionat frend.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

4^o Jan: St. No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu: Bo:

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Jan: 10 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I beleue you will heare at Collein how I haue beene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which lasted till Saterdag at fve a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will:² childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the P^e douager, the little Prince³ and P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies, and the Counsell of State, and myself and Louyse were there as guests. after super was dancing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time: those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twenty thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the

¹ The proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

² This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

³ Afterwards William the Third of England, now only four years of age.

towne and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [*torn off*] foot then the King has [*also torn*]¹ Ambassadour goe this week from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Dennemarke is Mon^r d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honest and great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I belceue they will doe but little with that King, for I am tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I am not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughts apace.

I am euer your most affectionat frend.

I have not time to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished here vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

HAGH, Jan. 11 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being wellcome to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commission to waite upon him this way, for soe he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne² goe

¹ An allusion to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made, in obedience to his order, by General Wirtemberg.

² Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode as having the care, management, and disposal of his household, which he kept at an expense of not more than six hundred pistoles per month. In fact, such was the economy necessarily imposed by the condition of the exiles, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that city.

on with their business, but our resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargaine, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to S^r Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honnestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the baine. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett in England, which shews what you beleue is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well was a Northolland boorine; Mrs. Hide¹ a shephardess and I assure was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better than she did. I beleue my Lady Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in their place. Heere is little news stirring. I beeleeue you heare of the quarrelle betwixt my soone and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some² ill business. it is so colde and they make such a noise

"In the time of the King's banishment," adds Bulstrode, "he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose house he lodged." In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109, Charles seems to imply that he is living a rational and sober life at Cologne. "I hope it will not be many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here." In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

¹ Afterwards Duchess of York; but then in the household of Princess Dowager of Orange.

² A trifling dispute about boundaries.

with theire bells and pleids in (the) street as makes
me end, but am euer

your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King,
and in my name make an humble suit to him in
Thom: Killegrews¹ behalf. It is to recommend him
to Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who
is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under
Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King
be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue
putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Ma^{ty}
with a letter since you are in the place. Thom:
writes himself to the King about it; it will be a
great honnour for him the Kings writing because
his wiues frends will by that . . . his Ma^{ties} favour
to him.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

11^o Jan. 1654-5. R. $\frac{1}{14}$ Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet
Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope
now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope
shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be
there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice
of Brandebourg² hauing a sonne, but she doth looke
to be deliuered before the end of this month or the

¹ Killigrew, so well known in the private history of
Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Res-
toration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a
volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window,
whilst his Majesty was shaving. "Ah! Killigrew," asked
the King, "what will you say at the last day, in defence of
all the idle words in that book?" To which Kiligrew replied,
that he would give a better account of his "idle words" than
the King would be able to give respecting "his idle promises"
and "more idle patents," which had undone more than ever
his books did.

² The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Fre-
derick V. Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to the
Queen of Bohemia.

beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure ; it is saide he will make himselfe King by force since he cannot be it otherwise : this is written to the P. of Torent. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killegrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleue it not : there is nothing else that I have to say to you but ame euer

Your most affectionate friend,



HAGH, Jan. 18.

18^o Jan: 1654-5. B: 11-12. Queene of Bohemia.

*To her Royall Highness the Lady Princesse Dowager
of Orange, from the States of Holland and West-
Friesland.*

Most excellent Princesse,

We were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge : And although we cannot by any meanes beleue or expect from the wisdom and reason of the said mighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within

the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2^d and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland: So haue we after good reasons, and for settling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of the truth hereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpefull to take heede and effect that the said mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high mightines: and referring our selues thereto

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March 1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

The STATES of HOLLAND and WEST-VRIESLAND.
By order of the same,
HERB'T VAN BEAUMONT.
1655.

The superscription.

"To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange."¹

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas.

8^o *Martij*, 1654-5. Copy of the translation of y^e let^r written by y^e States of Holl'd to y^e Pr^{esse} R^{ll} conc^s y^e K^e being reported to be at Tylinge.

¹ The obscure editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I., he says, "The old Prince of Aurange [Orange] he almost beggar'd, and yet to no purpose; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him. It's confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King, &c." In the margin this political conjuror adds—"It's pittie Aurange lived not to master the Jew Hollander."

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE

(AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON),

AND

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I.

LETTERS OF
SIR EDWARD HYDE
(AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON),
AND
SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

THE letters now to be given, also from the papers of Sir Richard Browne, will be found to throw additional and valuable light on the condition of the various members of the royal family and their adherents during the interval between the death of Charles the First and the Restoration. Only the first two letters of the series are of earlier date. These were written (in 1646) from Jersey, whither Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second; having been named of his Council in the preceding year. His object at this time was to counteract the intrigues of the Queen to get possession of the Prince; and the desponding tone in which these letters are written marks the failure of that design. The first is dated but a few days after the Prince had left Jersey to join his mother in Paris. Jersey was now under the government of Lord Jermyn, the Queen's favourite; but his deputy, Sir George Carteret, was Hyde's intimate friend; and with him he remained, solaced also by the friendly intercourse of Lords Hopton and Capel, and engaged in the composition of his *History of the Rebellion*, which he had begun at Scilly not many weeks before. He did not quit this retreat till 1648. During the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, and afterwards in Holland, where, on being obliged to fly from England, he had the King's permission to reside. Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland at the time of the Prince's flight to Jersey, but joined him soon after with two frigates and two hundred soldiers, strenuously to advise an attempt upon Ireland, in which the Prince refused to engage. On quitting Jersey, in 1648, Hyde joined Charles in Holland (his *Life* gives an interesting notice of his adventures on that occasion), and soon after the King's death he was sent Ambassador to Spain, from which country he re-joined Charles in France, and was appointed Resident at Antwerp, where he remained during the unsuccessful Scotch campaign, and till he and his master again met after the escape from the field of Worcester. In the latter passages

of the Correspondence, to which these events bring us, so many allusions occur to the royal fleet that it may be desirable to describe its position at the time. When Charles 'I. perished on the scaffold, a portion of the navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal exiles. These ships were put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from the young exiled King. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and having afterwards repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailed, in 1650, for the West Indies. At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Brittany; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer. To that arrangement many of the following Letters refer. In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes on his return from the West Indies, after suffering heavy losses from storms; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron originally consisted: and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Correspondence. Finally, it may be convenient to bring to the reader's recollection that the young King staid at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa; thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, and ultimately to Cologne; and that in January 1658, he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde, his Chancellor of the Exchequer up to that period, to be Lord Chancellor of England. It is of course needless to add that the men among whom these high-sounding titles were thus exchanged continued still to be as powerless as they were poor; they found themselves destitute even of the ordinary comforts of existence; yet, as the letters now printed show, this little exiled Court had its intrigues, jealousies, fears, and hopes, in quite as great an abundance as when, after the lapse of a few years, it was "restored" to Whitehall and St. James's.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*¹S^r

That you receaved not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther counsells; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore islande; you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possibility of a peace betweene the Scotts & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the nacon all the English turne Independ'ts; which sure may be præuented: I believe the crisis is at hande: I wish you all happinesse, beinge,

S^r,Your very affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

JAREY, this 12 of July, 1646.

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls,² and desyre him, if Coll. Murray³ should

¹ The reasons for the despondency expressed in this letter are fully detailed in Clarendon's *Life*, and also in the second volume of his *State Papers*, p. 276. The justice of the opinions expressed in it received speedy and full verification. See also the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 239, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France; and p. 307, for further observations on the "Scots and Independents."

² Who this Mr. Nicolls was, does not appear; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called Mr. Attorney.

³ Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 255, describing the arrival of the Prince in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainebleau.

not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (S^r) for this to S^r H. Mackeworth.¹

Sir Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue this day receaued yours of the 18. of August,² and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble; by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcion at ffountainebleau,³ that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony: Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for the Kinge to submitt to those vyle proposicons,⁴ is the next treason to the makinge them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe: and therefore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comorte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall: I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London diposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaues to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them; and can have no hope from the

¹ The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire; brother to the "brave and honest" Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and who afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

² This is perhaps a mistake for July; or, if correctly written, its apparent anticipation of date may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

³ The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court.

⁴ The propositions here alluded to are mentioned in preceding letters and notes.

Presbitery. I feare the ill successe of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders,¹ will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon : and if this indispoticon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplied.² If my brother Aylesbury³ be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls,⁴ to whome I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him ; My LL^{ds} heare, and our very good Gouvernour,⁵ are your seruants, as I am very heartily,

Sr,

your most affectionate, humble seru^t,

EDW: HYDE.

JARBY, this 14 of Aug. 1646.

Sr Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.⁶

Sr,.

Yours of y^e 24. of Jan: from yourselfe and S^r G. Carterett came [not] to my hands till y^e post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment wth y^e gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, w^{ch} I hope you will pardon. The

¹ During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII. ; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

² The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarin. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

³ Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress to her father and brother.

⁴ See note to preceeling letter.

⁵ Lord Jermyn.

⁶ This letter relates to difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke, of whom Berkeley had been the Governor ; Castelnau was Governor of Brest ; Holder was agent for the captors ; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal cause. Sir Richard Browne, the

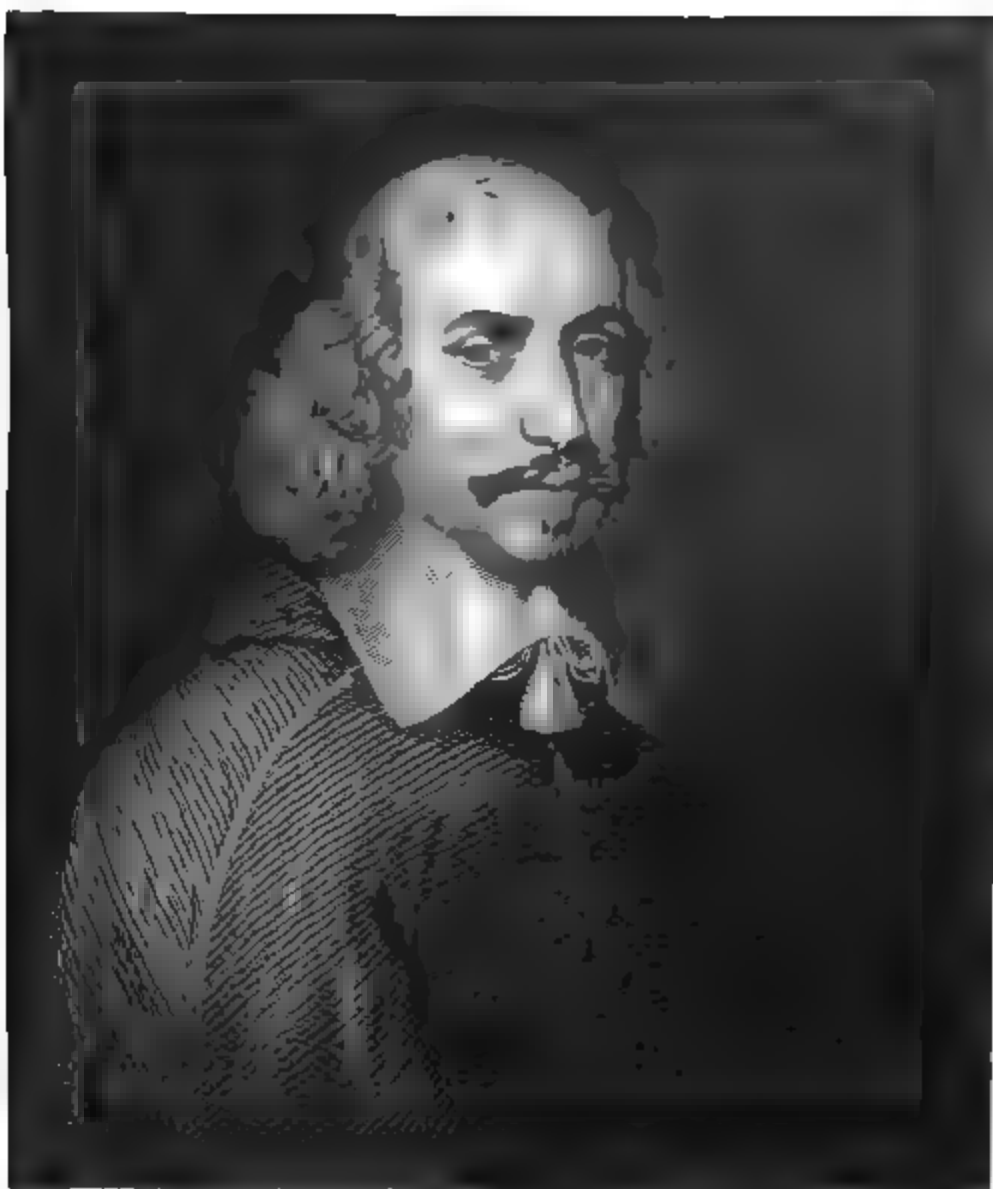
Duke of Yorke¹ is now here, and conceives all obstrucons are now remoued, w^{ch} troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castelnoe² hauing made large promises to his Highnes: I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the buisnesse and miscarriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett; since all redresse must be obteyned by y^e sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large the misdemean^r and cheates y^r Captaines,³ whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnified. You must take spetiall care for y^e safe and

King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

¹ The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court; having very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke had charged against him in person, being in command of the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him; but he himself received little hurt. See a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, *A bloody fight in France*, Lond. 1651-2.

² The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castelneau were but indifferently founded; for the pamphlet quoted in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castelneau and Villeroy, having forwarded his return, with the express purpose to undo him, were suspected of that design, and had in consequence forsaken the Court. Castelneau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in the hope of being bribed by the captors.

³ This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel; but the republican newspapers of the day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of these Intelligencers, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the *Recovery*, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the *Francis*, the *Patrick*, and the *Hunter*, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated to be at this period at sea, "with six or seven lusty ships," and to have taken several Spanish vessels.



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speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouern^r of Innisboline,¹ and I pray send the other to Sir George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, w^{ch} my extreame payne produces. I am,

S^r,

your very affeoonat humble seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

PARIS, 8 Feb: 1652.

Sir Rich. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vnacquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie,² nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that whateuer else he does, he will neuer putt himselfe in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently prouoked and damnified.³ I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne and the English Rebels, only that ther is nothinge like that order, of which you say you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte⁴ is requyred to go away with his shippes

¹ It was at this time reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing openly the Catholic religion, on which terms it had been promised to him that the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

² Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

³ The royal fleet and the privateers were now in great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

⁴ Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced

and pryse, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehension, that the Rebells of Westm. may fauour ther fellow rebells of Burdeaux:¹ o' letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteracon; ther Councell of the Army still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouernment. I know not what to say to the complainte of your seru^t, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reporte,² because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne fault that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouern^t of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee absolutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the lady is much troubled: but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubt your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, she may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my conscience you haue not the least reason to suspecte Geo. Carterett's³ frendshipp or kindnesse

hostilities against the Spaniards, taking, as his first prize, a ship worth 100,000 crowns, he put forth a declaration in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.

¹ Alluding to the Condé party, then active in the south of France.

² Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change in the circumstances of the English courtiers than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.

³ Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct in that post was so admirable as to exact the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, "I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he

to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath bene out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him.

I am very hartily,

S^r,

your most affectionate humble serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

PARIS, this 20th of May, 1652.

Sir Ric: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I giue you hearty thankes for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther directions; and the Kinge is resolved to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, wherby all our correspondencies will I hope be præserued: I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters,¹ which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen; for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare, both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce,² and what our friends of Hollande will

expects a letter; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing."

¹ However trifling this caution appears about a sum so insignificant, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

² The distempers here alluded to were the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarin partisans.

do: you will be careful to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour¹ how affayres goe ther, and transmitt it hither: if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate, then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Ma^y; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therefore I doubte our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us and you, that we may euen visit each other.² God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole hearte,

S^r,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

ffriday night this 19. of *July*, 1652.

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them: you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily expected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Byron.³

Sir Ri: Browne.

¹ Mynheer Borell. One of the journals of that day (*Perfect Passages*, 23 July, 1652,) says, "Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. His creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassador Borell, are often together." Borell had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and on that ground anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

² The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totolly unsafe, on account of the military marauders of both armies.

³ Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

Yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly : I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted,¹ which I thought by the remooue of the Armyes would haue been now without any doubt, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris : howeuer I will obserue your advice, and write any thinge of importance in

you are in the King's name to
 cypher : 731 . 405 . 532 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 596 . 667 .
 returne his Mades very to the
 333 . 502 . 239 . 13 . 699 . hearty thankes 667 . 668 .
 Dutch Ambasr his Maty is
 142 . 95 . and indeede 502 . 239 . 529 . exceedingly
 of his kind n e s s e and
 sensible 598 . 502 . 544 . 30 . 7 . 13 . 62 . 23 . 407 .
 freind shipp
 488 . 651 . and if God blesses him, will make it
 his Maty d e s i
 appeare that he is so. 502 . 239 . 15 . 23 . 13 . 27 .
 r e s the Ambasr to lett him know
 36 . 56 . 62 . 668 . 95 . 667 . 551 . 505 . 546 . as
 the warre is d
 soone as he is assured that 668 . 723 . 529 . 25 .
 e c l a r e d that hee
 23 . 15 . 28 . 21 . 36 . 7 . 26 . and then 673 . 501 .

¹ The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were now of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or *Mercurius Politicus*, of the 1st July, 1652, in the British Museum, that "Charles Stuart hath secured himself by showing them a pair of heels" (after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris), "and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the people, so that they have made several books and songs of him."

will his May what he is to do
 710 . aduice 502 . 239 . 717 . 501 . 529 . 667 . 439 .
 both with reference to the U n i t o
 668 . 43 . 30 . 27 . 12 . 23 .
 d P r o v i n c e s
 25 . 41 . 34 . 36 . 22 . 43 . 27 . 30 . 15 . 56 . 13 .
 and to this Crowne with which his May will
 407 . 667 . 671 . 437 . 713 . 722 . 502 . 239 . 710 .
 in that manner as the
 interpose 532 . 673 . 573 . 30 . 23 . 36 . 401 . 668 .
 Ambasser best
 95 . shall thinke 416 . 13 . 12. I shall not neede to

him
 bespeake your diligence in calling often 600 . 505 .
 for

469 . 86.—You will do me the fauour to send this inclosed to S^r Jo. Mennes,¹ who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour to desyre Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke of Bauaria, and to informe you how longe he hath bene Duke :— You will exspecte no newes from this place wher wee haue little to doe, but to study & take the ayre, and to longe for good newes of peace in this kingdome. If the messengers dispatched from hence doe not attende you at those howres they should, it is not for want of derrection heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat D^r Earles² hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good earnest I take unkindly, and doubte you haue not so good an opinion of

¹ Sir John Mennes was Rear-admiral of the Fleet in the reign of Charles the First; and distinguished as one of the most loyal of the officers, when Parliament took those steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of the King to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

² Dr. Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, author of the *Microcosmography*, was one of the Loyalists attached to the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to him may be found in vol. ii. of the Clarendon *State Papers*, pp. 322, 329. In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges employment for the Doctor's leisure, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and "two hours in the projecting where to get one."

my friendship as I wish you should, and for which I must chyde you heartily when wee meete.

Let me know particularly what you receaue from Englande, and lett your man enquire for letters derected as Edgman¹ aduiced you. I am,

S^r,

Your most affectionate faythfull Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

ST. GERMAIN'S. Tuesday morninge, 23. of *July*, 1652.

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24. which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Ma^{tie}, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Court of any such message² sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes³ indisposition, though I am gladd it is nothinge but a ffitt of

¹ Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who once vindicated him from a charge of having violated a seal, by declaring he knew him to be so honest that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve.

² Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negotiations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

³ This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place, calls "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church." He had been long about Charles's person; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, "giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs."

the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewinge, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour with which wee heard he labored: I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therfore I pray hasten it as soone as you may: let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe.¹ If it would be any comforte to you to haue companyons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses,² for I cannot imagyne which way the Kinge will be able to procure mony for his subsistance; nor indeed how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish army: what is become of it?

You will still commende the King to your neighbour: if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourney ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres: I am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate humble Seru^t,
E. H.

ST. GERM: 26 *July*, 1652, ffryday 9 at night.

I pray send me the copy of a warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric: Browne.

¹ This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Says Court.

² The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris. "The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans:" (this lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords:) "an honour too large for the late Majesty of Scotland. His confidents have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the citizens for the most part being alienated from the King," &c.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

The messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on his errande, at least not by me : he sweares, he was on Saturday at your house, by 11 of the clocke, and you not being at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne with your mayde : this is so contrary to what you say, of his not appearinge before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last ordinary) that I haue a greate minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath any excuse or not ; I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he lyked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourney, and hauinge so little encouragement, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour : I am of your opinion that the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and derrection : I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it : upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither : he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubysse, but payment is not yett made :¹ seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses ; which I had rather see relieued then my owne : I will not surpryse you at Paris, and

¹ This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

honest, but a foole : The other is more a foole, and
 I doubte not so honest, though yett I do not take
 him for a spy : nor can I imagyne it possible for
 them to make any sober vsefull proposicons ^{to} 667 .
^{the Ambasser} 668 . 95. The Kinge will follow the ^{and} aduice, 407 .
^{s i t t the Ambasser w is} 13 . 27 . 12 . 42 . still, till 668 . 95 . 20 . 529 .
^{h e s him to moue Lord} 17 . 7 . 62 . 502 . 667 . 577. The sendinge 394 .
^{Wilmott into Germany¹ and if hee} 532 . 667 . 186 . is not declared, 407 . 531 . 501 .
^{goe s hee} 491 . 13. (which will not be yett) 501 . shall not
^{goe by Holand, the King would not haue the} 491 . 415 . 192 . 668 . 220 . 728 . 589 . 615 . 654 .
^{Bishop to the Ambasser} 99 . propose any such thinge 667 . 668 . 95. Though
^{that you should lett the Ambasser know} he be willinge 673 . 731 . 666 . 551 . 668 . 95 . 546 .
^{hee can putt such} that as low as his power is, 501 . 429 . 615 . 654 .
^{places in Irland and Scotland} 618 . 13 . 532 . 204 . 407 . 363 . into the handes
^{of Holand} 598 . 192 . as would inable them to torment their
 enimyes :² Ther is no opinion of the good nature
^{Pr. El. Pal.³ The Earl of Br was} and gratitude of 308 . 452 . 598 . 103 . 707 . called

¹ How well the King's motions were now watched by the Parliament, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August, 1652, was enabled to state—"The late King of Scots is at St. German's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The *Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany.*"

² This extraordinary fact receives confirmation from another of Sir Edward's letters to Secretary Nicholas, published in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 86. Fortunately for the honour and credit of all concerned, the idea was finally abandoned.

³ The Elector Palatine abundantly justified this opinion ; for, when the German Princes subsequently made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though

to council Counsell^r of
 667 . 121 . as an old 121 . 599 his father:¹ and
 it would haue bene greate pittie he should not: he is

L^d Digby

a good old man, and much my frende. 155 . intends
 his owne businesse and lookes not after what con-
 cernes us: I thinke I haue answered all yours: and
 I am able to add nothinge of this place: god of
 heaven præserue you, and me as I am heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

ST. GERMAINS, Wensday July 31. 8 at night. 1652.

Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Since I writt last to you (though it was but on
 ffryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you,
 two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of
 this moneth, all which are now before me to be
 answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked
 you for your diligent and very punctuall corre-
 spondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is high
 iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope
 will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Am-
 bassadors complainte against Mr. Killegrew,² with
 which his Ma^{ty} is very much troubled, and resolues

under great obligations both to his father and grandfather,
 did not contribute a single stiver. See Clarendon's *History*,
 vol. iii. p. 418.

¹ In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout
 these letters the reader will derive amusement from Walpole's
 account of him as a Noble Author.

² In his *Life*, p. 116, Hyde says that Charles had been at
 first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice; but afterwards
 was prevailed upon simply to gratify him, that in the capacity
 of Envoy "he might borrow money of English merchants
 for his owne subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the
 honour of his master." The letter in the text contributes
 some interesting detail upon an incident but slightly noticed
 in history. Francis Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus
 cavalierly to the representative of the exiled monarch.

upon his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceed therein in such a manner as shall be worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonwealth, with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and his Ma^{ty}s Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therefore his Ma^{ty} is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident: However his Ma^{ty} wishes that the Republic had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with ther iust exception against his Minister, that ther-upon his Ma^{ty} might haue testified his respecte to them by recalling and punishinge him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which being so vnusuall a way, his Ma^{ty} doubts will not be cleerely and generally understood, but may be interpreted to the Kings disadvantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient friendship with the Crowne of Englande, which his Ma^{ty} is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Ma^{ty}, which he desyres him to continue.—After I had shewed the Kinge your letter, he appointed me

^{to} 667 . ^r 36 . ^e 23 . ^a 4 . ^d 25 . ^e 7 . ^{it} 530 . ⁱⁿ 532 . ^{councill} 121 . and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge.—I have bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglass's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth,¹ . . . Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin,²

¹ Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

² Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He succeeded his uncle, after the Restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

who hath the small pox, and others, who would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr: ffrayser¹ had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority graunted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will euery Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne² is not deade, and then the arryvall of the ffeete will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproaches fro' the Hague for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not.—You must expayne this; you say, I have not yet seene 95. both he and I haue bene to [too] busy. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue ^{the} 668.

¹ Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that country; he also had some political besides his medical influence at the exiled Court. In another letter (*State Papers*, iii. 119) Clarendon says of him, "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake: for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive." Elsewhere also he expresses himself very kindly as to Fraser; yet the doctor took great offence against him on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger.

² Philip IV. He did not die until 1665.

^{two} 670 . ^{memorials} 569 . 29 . 2 . 36 . 27 . 400 . 13 . ^{has} 501 . sent to
^{the} 668 . ^{K.} 216 . ^{by} 415 . ^{his} 502 . ^{Sonn} 13 . 43 . 30 . 59 . ^{which} 722 . ^{you} 731 .
^{K.} requyred and the 220 . ^{me} gaue 269 . two dayes since :
 I will keepe them till you order me to dispose them.
 As I was much startled my selfe with yours of
 yesterday, which my Lady Harberte¹ sent me late
 in the night, concearning ^{that} 673 . ^{the} 668 . ^{K.} 220 . ^{had} 506 .
^{given} 493 . 30 some derections quite contrary to what I
 understoode to be his minde, so I gave my selfe the
^{his} pleasure of perplexinge 502 . ^{Maty} 239 . by readinge only
 the first parte of your letter : and when he was in
 trouble, and protested that he had neuergaue any such
 order, I reade him that which was in cypher, with
 which he was wonderfully pleased, and exceedingly
^{the} thanks 668 . ^{Ambassr} 95 and referres the proceedinge ⁱⁿ 532 .
^{it} 530 . ^{to} intirely 667 . ^{his} 502 . ^{dis} 440 . ^c 15 . ^r 36 . ^e 23 . ^t 12 .
^{ion} 437 . and frendshipp, for as he hath hitherto accord-
 inge to his aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr,
 or moue any thinge, for feare of doinge it vnseason-
 ably, so he very well knowes, that such an ouerture
 as this, timely made, ^{may} 571 . ^{giue} 493 . ^{his} 502 . ^{frends} 488 . ⁱⁿ 13 . 532 .
^{Holland} 192 . ^{to} opportunity . 667 . ^a 13 . ^y 21 . 10 . somewhat on
 his behalfe,² which of themselues originally they
 could not doe, and therefore ^{the} 668 . ^{K.} 220 . ^{the} committs 668 .

¹ Wife of the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert.

² Comparing a letter of the 2nd August to Secretary Nicholas, now residing in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

con d a e t e of t h
428 . 25 . 43 . 15 . 42 . 23 . 598 . wholly to 12 . 17 .

e Ambas. the good e
23 . 95 . and will acknowledge alwayes 668 . 495 . 7 .

f f e t s to him :
18 . 24 . 56 . 12 . 13 . 667 . 505 . and ther is no

doubte, if ther were an opportunity 667 . 12 . 36 .

e a t e on the Kings be h
23 . 21 . 42 . 23 . 600 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 416 . 17 .

a l f e
21 . 28 . 18 . 7 . ther would be founde reall
aduantages yett in his power (as low as it is)

to glue with to Irland and
667 . 493 . 713 . reference 667 . 204 . 407 .

Scotland :

363 . and really I have reason to believe that

make Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly
wee could speedily 580 . 213 . 191 . 407 . 13 . 27 .

at our
28 . 52 . 10 . 402 . 603 . deucon. You must lett

the Ambassa know the K.
668 . 95 . 546 . that 668 . 220 . hath this day dis-

Lord Taafs to the Duke
patched 549 . 12 . 21 . 18 . 24 . 667 . 668 . 446 .

¹ The King's supposed wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals (*Several Proceedings*, 28th October, 1652), in a letter from Paris: "Charles Stuart, the Titular Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity; his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last; he impatiently expects this peace; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Creatures of late; so would all about him: yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him plainly that those who most oppose the Commonwealth, are but Ulster men, which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to be faithful to a Parliament they would be constant."

² Lord Taafe was particularly active in the King's Councils, in so far as related to Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Irish affairs, remarks, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of Lorraine: "Lord Taafe is the man that manageth the business with the King, which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very improbable: and this hath occasioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge, betwixt Taafe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots King."

^{of Lorraine}
 598 . 231 . (with whome he is in singular creditt, and
^{to con i v r}
 is indeede a very honest man) 661 . 428 . 27 . 1 36 .
^{e him not} ^{Holland but}
 23 . 505 . 589 . in any degree to disturbe 192 . 417 .
^{on} ^{to} ^{he will}
 600 . the other hande . 667 . declare that 501 . 710 .
^{assist} ^{them} ^{against} ^{England}
 401 . 13 . 529 . 12 . 676 . 414 . 13 . 12 . 164 . which
 I doubte not he will doe heartily. I conceaue my
 L^d Inchiquin¹ (though I haue not spoken with him
 of it this day) does not speedily intende to make use
 of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it,
 before he exspects it fro' you.—It is very true ther
 was such a summ of mony lately receaued at Paris
 for the Kinge as you mention, and 40. pistoles of it
 disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he
 hath receaued since he came hither, and in some
 tyme before, and he hath hope to receaue iust such a
 summ agayne within these few dayes, but alas it
 doth not inable his cooks and back-stayres² men to
 goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest
 they can undertake it no longer. I hope ther will
 be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if
 you should be left out, I should mutiny on your
 behalfe: in the meane tyme, if it would giue you

¹ It had been intended, at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by Jermyn, should go as Ambassador to Holland, to prepare for Charles's reception there.

² The public journals, in real or assumed letters from Paris, now asserted loudly that the "quondam" King, as they described him, had grown hateful to the people of that city "since Lorraine's treason, being afraid lest he might find such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented, and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family (*nullo relicto*). The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Holland, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Loraine, and likewise with his Mother and his brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischief to the State of England."

ease, I could assure you, my L^d nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts: ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme.—My L^d Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

S^t GERMANs this
Tuesday the 6. of *Aug.*
6. at night. 1652.

This messenger is to retorne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

S^r Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

That yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my faulte, for as I was takinge penn & paper to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryued, which derected me to change my cource of writinge, and to send no more to Nantz,¹ but to St. Malos: and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstanding any discouragements you receaued from thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte: for Mr. Holder² writes me worde, that a letter from Moun^r Castlenoe would signify

¹ Sir Richard Browne was at this moment very actively endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

² Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from the *Clarendon State Papers* that great dependence was placed on him when wanted: yet Sir Edward calls him "the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics." See *post*, p. 261.

very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præserue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Ma^y upon accounts,¹ which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discouer'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ.—Though S^r Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of the 10. yett very contrary to my expectation he returned hither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My L^d will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discouer any monyes to be dew to him, and he will gladly giue you authority to receaue it; indeed a supply will come as seasonable to him as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will belieue our necessities to be importunate enough, which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselfe reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagyne. I perceaue the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray,² betweene whom the contests grew very high, and are like to breake out to such a degree that the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfyed with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him; therefore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Ma^y, besides that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue giuen Choquex the

¹ The difficulty which Charles experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in *Perfect Passages* of the 15th October, 1652: "Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls."

² Melleray was Governor of Nantes.

papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceave true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte,¹ so that besides the restitution of the vessell, there will be a large accounte to be made: When any thinge is resolved, you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned:—I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of, because upon conference with S^r Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he obserued to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. of the no profit accrewed to his Ma^{tie} upon that receipte, he answered me that it was impossible much could come to his Ma^{ties} owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde.—Wee know nothings of Englande more than that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guess at the effects: in the meane tyme, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my L^d Willmotts title)² is to sett out from hence

¹ Prince Rupert, just before this date, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruising off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the *Perfect Passages*, places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

² There was considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Wilmot, his first proposed one of *Esssx* being claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney-

on Thursday morninge, he traueells with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume the title of Ambassadour,¹ which I suppose he will choose to declyne, and do his businesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch.—God præserue you.

I am, S^r,
your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
E. H.

PALLAIS ROYALE, this
24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652.

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 22th from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourny so well; I hope the rest will be as successfull, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you Geheral; upon which, as stated in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii., 121, "my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester."—See also iii. 57.

¹ It was hoped that he might succeed in inducing the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure; and also might so manage with the Dutch as to render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must at this time have been in sore distress. A letter from Paris in the *Several Proceedings*, of 13th December, asserts that "the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low a condition that he is forced to eate his meals in taverns here at Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home." And not three months before this date, even Hyde had thus expressed himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas: "It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in thrift; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these

haue had to carry you out : The Spanyard¹ desyred me to giue you my thankes for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt ffrance agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath beene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended ; I am exceedingly gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebels, as to arrest both the shipps and goods,² I wish they did so in all other partes of ffrance, that they might proceede a little more briskely towards ther greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

You must not suspecte your frends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched : you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon Sir Ri: Foster,³ which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concernes you, and in this particular, as a frende can be : But the truth is, he hath beene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at

many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meate which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust."

¹ A part of the private history of the time, to which no certain clue remains. Some plans had been put in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms ; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

² An event not elsewhere recorded ; unless it refers to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

³ Sir Richard Foster was Keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have anything to keep in it. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 46.

home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from being settled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande: I forgott likewise to tell you, that this man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from S^r Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke, I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therefore I trouble you with the inclosed.—All heare are your Seru^{ts}: God præserue you. I am very heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t,
EDW: HYDE.

PALLAIS ROYALL 29 of Novemb. 1652.

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executinge the orders for the Patricke & Francis,¹ formerly granted to S^r G^e Carterett: the 10th & 15th are to be payd to the proper receauers.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary than at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther: you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therefore you are like to be the more wellcome to them, with the proposicon from the

¹ Two of the Jersey privateers.

Marechall de Melleray,¹ and if they were once induced to goe to Porte Lewes, I would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall: I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them: Though I do not loue to infuse any iealosyes or distrust in any man, of his frends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your garde, and not too freely to imparte all you know or

thinke ^{to} 667 . ^{Mr.} 568 . ^H 17 . ^o 2 . ^l 28 . ^d 15 . ^e 23 . ^r 36 .

^{who} 704 : ^a trust me is 4 . ^{...} 699 . ^{weeks} 726 . ^{man} 573 . and so

sottishly corrupted ⁱⁿ 534 . ^{his} 502 . ^{Religion} 337 . ^{that} 673 . ^{hee} 501 .

belieues whatsoeuer any ^p 34 . ^r 36 . ⁱ 27 . ^e 7 . ^s 13 .

12 . sayes to him, how ridiculous soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinkes himselfe wiser than Solomon. Ther are some other reasons for this caution, which I cannot expresse at large, which

make me believe ^{he} that ^{is} 501 . ^{not} 529 . ^{so} 589 . ^{just} 645 . 538 .

^{to} 667 . ^{you} 731 . ^{he} as 501 . ought to be. We are all heare in the same beggarly condicon² you left us, which I

¹ Melleray was at this moment a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarin, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne; but the Marshal, knowing well that this was an intrigue to get him and his son, both of them suspected as friendly to the Condé party, into the power of the Court faction, excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.

² Yet the subjoined extract is taken from one of the Intelligencers published in London, of the date of November, 1652: "The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the French King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great

thinke by longe custome will grow a seconde nature to us: I should be glad to heare that S^r Geo. Carterett were come to Brest.—God præserue you, and bringe us well together agayne:—I am very heartily,

S^r

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

PARIS, this 11 of *January*, 1653.
Sir Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue yours of the 3^d and the 6. of this moneth: and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one as could haue satisfyed my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuryes and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedyed and repayred heare, as dicouered: The King wished young L^d Jermin, Mr. Atturney and my selfe, to consider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouvernors are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fit to moue the Courte, which no doubt knows nothing of this arrest and restraunte, nor it may be of the bargayne and compaigns he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his people; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Periculi Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo*. 'Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him 100,000*l.* in gold for a present, with the promised assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry."

nivance for the admissyon of our shipps (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castlenoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my L^d Jermin¹ promised to doe that presently, and he hoped effectually; but wee finde after longe enquiry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucon be first vnderstoode: Therefore my L^d Jermyn hath written to him, and inclosed the state of the case, made out of your letters, and Mr. Atturny hath sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must expecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne

¹ Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great; and is thus described by a news-writer of the time, writing from Paris, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum: "The little Queen is retired to the numery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the advance of some designes that she hath on foot. She left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and that he hath resigned his judgement, affection, and all to her; because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here. Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expenses.——The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him" (30th Dec. 1651) "from all parts. Crofts is returning from Poland, where he called himselfe a Lorde Ambassadour; and is to be made a Lord as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment and for the charitable contribution of our Polish cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hyde, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black guard and retinue that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance."

at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of, of which I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturmy and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who exspects euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appeares he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will retorne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with M^r Atturmy, and upon both our consideringe the case as M^r Holder sent it me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the King any iudgement upon it, since it does not appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hamberghers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell: We hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his derection upon all this businesse. My L^d Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods; which we all vnderstande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therefore you may be confident that wee omitt nothing that is in our power to doe, hauinge not a penny to discharge the debte.¹

¹ An extract from the *Mercurius Politicus* of the 8th July, 1652, may help to illustrate this letter: "Charles Stuart, who was said to be gone in our last [from Paris] went not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep; and they

This day S^r Ri: ffoster goes with my L^d Inchiquin to him to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevayle with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothings dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryces brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be imployed to that purpose? any order should be procured from hence.

I pray convay this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily.

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

PALL: Ro: this 21 of *January* 1653.
Sir. R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 7th from the good Govern^r and yourself, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be belieued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselfe, or to some of his officers, of all the obstrucons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Capitaines,¹ and of any such proposicons and expedients feared, if they lost him they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosney upon the way to Roan. His mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they will returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of ingratitude; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty."

¹ The Duke of York was actually at this period with the

which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royall Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you no intelligence from hence, whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholly intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, exspecting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe belieue y^e good spiritt does improve, since no body can doubt, but y^t the people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but y^t I am to you both

your most affectionate humble servant,

EDW. HYDE.

PARIS 18 *Feb.* 1653.

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Gouernment of Innisboffine, that if any Marchant-men will bring corne, armes, or ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would enable them for some time to exspect greater, and not to submitt to the rebells. If it were possible to procure any of your Men of War, or any Marchants to resort thither, it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therefore I pray deuice all wayes possible to compasse it, and let me know how the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to y^t place haue bene disposed off.¹

French army under Turenne; and though he would seem from this letter to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the Life published from his own Memoir.

¹ These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary army, it being then the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is safe at Nantes,¹ and therefore it is very probable this letter may not finde you at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holdersome derection concerninge the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett² be not with you, I pray send this letter to him by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a copy of your cypher, send it to him, I hauinge used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande.—God be with you. I am very heartily,

S^r,your most affectionate Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

PARIS this 22 of *March* (1653).

Sir Ric: Browne.

¹ This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he captured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her into Nantz, in March, 1653, he was soon after seized with a violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris, and was well received by the French King. From Paris he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration. The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally refitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores (where his own flag-ship, the *Reformation*, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others), it was found necessary to return to the northern parts of France; particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Straits of Gibraltar.

² Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

About three days since I receaved yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that yours are so longe upon the way, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose the Governour is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for. the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse¹ ther, or that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee exspecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the troble of a iourney, and if ther be then any occasyon for it, I will aduertise you : If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seuerall theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent ? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testimony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighty ; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Captaynes are upon all occasyons much magnified, as excellent vsefull ministers.—I am very gladd of that order you a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruised, principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican party, if we may judge from their journals.

¹ Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of the time. Those journals also assert, upon the authority of some runaway seamen who had landed at Weymouth, "that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth 10,000*l.*, and the Swallow is hallen up altogether unserviceable."

mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London euery day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other.—Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of ffebruary, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter; I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. Hath G^c Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio? I hope ther will be some parte of your house-rent payd out of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubt will haue occasyon to vse all and more than he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his shipps.¹—It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony enough in my purse to præserue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of paying any debtes. Wee do flatter ourselves with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay long heare, indeede I belieue our Master will putt himselfe into some action this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffrence.² God præserue you and,

S^r.

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
E. H.

PARIS this 12 of *April* (1653).

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne:

From Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 *Ap^l* 1653.
Received 19 *Ap^l*.

¹ These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruise: but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as we find asserted in the *Moderate Publisher* of the 15th April, 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give Charles the title of *King of Great Britain*.

² This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

21 April 1653.

Right Hon^{ble},

Two dayes since I receiued your Hon^r of 12th, by which it appeares that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause whereoff is; that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled conuaiance, only the opportunity of such carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Gouvernour since his goinge hence : butt Mr. Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had beene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses going for Paris ; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my l're by Sir G: Carterett.¹

I perceiue the French minister is nott returned (as wee were made beleiue) out of England, which I am sorry for, butt hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Ma^r into some successefull action worthy his Royall undertakinge : and shall with impatience exspect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the

¹ How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says : "You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the prize, or anything that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper ; and I much doubt very little of that money will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands." See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 200.—And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly : "The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the prizes at Nantz ; alas ! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth."

discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be other-
wayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee
had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to
somethinge, butt with this most abominably shock-
inge Gouvernour there is such an unpreuentable
tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under
officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that
it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left
this port, and will yf hee may be beleiued be shortly
with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. S^r G.
Carteret will giue y^r Hon^r an account of him; for
since the receipt of your last I haue written to him
soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and
yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe
assure your Hon^r it is nott admirably good: and I doe
wish the Kinge would be very sparinge how hee con-
ferre any fauour on him untill he deserue better then
hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you haue
new councellors sworne & a grand new officer with
whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct
all for the best: soe that the generall of our affaires
goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him,
who is unfainedly and æternally Yo^r Hon^r

Most faithfull, most obliged,

and most humble seruant,

R: BROWNE.

BREST, 21. April 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right Hon^{ble},

My last to your Hon^r were of the 28th Aprill,
Munday last; the day followinge in the eueninge
came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neu-
bourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac,
with another gentleman in his company; who imme-
diately went to the Castle, and after a long consul-
tation went Mon^r de Camper concealed themselves as

much as they could. Yesterday, in a small fregat¹ which was going to sea with his Ma^{ties} commission, this Marquis, with a Captain, an officer of the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuatly as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant, for which enterprise I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Mon^r de Castlenau's recommendations. And I presume the island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed² to this gouernment of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Hon^r may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouerne myselfe in the demand of his Ma^{ties} dues out of the tobacco that shall be there found, which is nott vppon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line from my deare S^r George Carteret: wee liued together like brothers; and I hope he hath nott soe soone forgotten mee.

Prayinge, &c.

From your Hon^{rs} &c.

R. B.

BREST. 2 May. 1653.

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vppon this coast. Captain Swart, who commanded The Patricke hath this weeke lanchd a small man of warre under the Holland colours; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

¹ The Parliamentary news-writers of the day, alluding to those parts of the navy which still remained loyal to Charles, inform us: "The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly upon the coast of Jersey; no less than two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island," (Isle du Choisi), "amountinge to a great value; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King."

² This affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The tobacco alluded to may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruisers.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouvernour¹ since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince: I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his frends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the ffrench minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our frends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dissatisfaction, & on the contrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to their content: if the newes which came to the towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negoti-
acon: I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for as I wish, yett I doubte not somewhat would be done towards it: in the meane tyme, I am confident S^r Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more: I know no new councellours made but the Keeper:² and wee haue now another new greate officer, Pr. Ruperte, Master of the Horse:³

¹ Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

² Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon elsewhere says, that he "thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune; and was always angry that he had not more to do." His intrigues are humorously depicted in Clarendon's autobiography.

³ A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says: "Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a

God præserue you, and send us a good metinge.
I am uery heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
E. H.

PARIS, this 3 of May 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr,

I receaued yours of the 28. of the last, and of the 2^d of this, together 3 dayes since: I thought all the dutyes of the Marq^s pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins hande, and I told him that he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15th for you: I will not so much as enquire into what concernes or may relate to the 10th. nor a worde more concerninge the commissyons, for which I am sure Edgman neuer expected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennett¹ had not: but no more of that: nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Gouvernour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remooues to write frequent letters, nor is he good non plus what to do; things do not answer his expectations: his designes faile him." Another observes: "Prince Rupert flourishes with his blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the moneys made of the prize goods at Nantz; and in recompence Rupert is made Master of the Horse."

¹ This is that Bennet of whom Clarendon remarks, that he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.



Lely Pinx

HENRY BENNET.

EARL OF ARLINGTON

OB, 1685

at itt at any tyme, and therfore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omissyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of: he is sure a very worthy person, and loues when he professes soe to do: you heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliam¹ with all the contempt and scorne imaginable, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be: what be.ther next acte, is our great expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne nations, who were treatinge with them: sure some notable crisis is at hande, worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare as they were, Sr. Ric. ffoster hath payed 500^l. for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by,

Sr,

Your very affectionate serv^t,

E. H.

PARIS May 19. 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

20 May, 1643.

Right Hon^{ble},

Yesterday I gaue yo^r Hon^r notice of my being called to Nantes; this morninge as I am ready to

¹ An allusion to the memorable event of the 20th April, 1653, when Cromwell entered the House of Commons at the head of a party of soldiers, forcibly dissolved the Parliament then sitting, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterward a bill was stuck upon the door—"This House to be let unfurnished." One of the Intelligencers of the same day published an alleged letter from Paris, stating: "Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad

put foote in stirrop, Captain Sadlington's¹ fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivan Beirne,² a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Ma^{ties} service: He comes deputed from such of his Ma^{ties} faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the west side of Munster: and hastens now towards Paris to giue his Ma^{ty} an account of those parts: which though of it selfe it bee recommendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to y^r Hon^r acquaintance, and by y^r fauour to his Ma^{ty}: The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such releife as may excite and animate these embers of loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous treason and unparaleld rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yo^r Hon^r hands, and rest

Y^r &c. &c.

R. BROWNE.

at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do anything."

¹ Captain Sadlington was retained in the royal service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the Crown, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

² O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Beerhaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the *Severall Proceedings* of the 30th June, 1653: "From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprised some garrisons; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France."

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I receaved yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Ma^{ty} to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him. To haue inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Ma^{ty}s proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Ma^{ty} had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Ma^{ty} that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme: it may be he will send his letters under this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is called for, and I doubt not you will receaue all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you: ¹ our Master thinkes of remoouinge,

¹ It was made matter of remark in the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal family at this moment. The *Faithful Post*, of the same date as this letter, says, in a communication from Amsterdam: "Here is arrived the adventurer called the Spanish Bark; coming from Rochelle: he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow, our late Queen, £1000; King of Scots, £3000; Duke of York, £2000; Duke of Gloucester, £1000."

but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day news of an engagement at sea betweene the two flectes, the successe of which may probably alter¹ the temper in both Councells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressing most vnreasonbly ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily,

S^r,

your most affectionate Serv^t,
E. H.

PARIS this 14 of June 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 30 of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyng the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concernesthe Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætenes are; nor haue I any reason to imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might

¹ The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in one of the weekly Intelligencers, were very hostile to Charles's interests at the Court of France. "The news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch," says the writer, "much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxt*: but the next day came news to several merchants of this city, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and diuers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad."

be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place, his Highnesse could not so easily give direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treat with S^r Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers.¹

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that businesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to M^r Windham² (with whome I haue no correspond-ence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satisfaction for all such warrants which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you; and if that satisfyes for the time past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of expectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande³ betweene the Dutch and

¹ An allusion to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

² Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 118.

³ The London Intelligencers were at this time giving a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged "in forms of Common Prayer" for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England! Nor were the Puritan party at home particularly anxious for peace, protesting that the "work of the Lord is not yet done; that the sword must not be sheathed untill they had brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom."

the Rebels, which our frends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation : and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux.¹

I am, S^r,
Your very affectionate humble Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

PARIS this 12 of *July* (1653).

S^r Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

PARIS this 30th of *July* (1653).

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr: Ruperte, and he hath promised mee to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you and the Dukes officers, which concernes the 10th & 15th, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Ma^{ty} shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders : so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths.² I desyred the Prince to send his letter for the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transactes all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayringe to the Gouvernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte :

¹ The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

² This necessity of temporising with the avaricious detainer of their captured property, to which the exiled Court was obliged to submit, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also (if they did not participate in the plunder) of their want of authority over their own officers.

it is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therefore the Prince desyres that all compliyanse be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothinge to anger him:—I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppinge the other goods upon pretence of much money dewe to him as Admirall of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothing of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the King takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councell within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the seruice¹ carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord, and together with S^r Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Ma^{'ty}s gracious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: ther are yett only 500^{li}s, payde of the rent by S^r Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: in the meane tyme, the Kinge himselfe commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible returne some mony to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Ma^{'ty}s mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunityes for other orders, w^{ch} his Ma^{'ty} hath promised to me. I have no more to say, but that I am,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E. H.

¹ Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains. He is often mentioned by Evelyn in his diary and letters; and the allusion in the text is to his having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Evelyn tells us was always done.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I have receaved yours of the 28. of the last moneth, and by this tyme I suppose Pr. Ruperte¹ is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your businessse better then I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10th and the 15th. but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty at Britany,² upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shipps haue euer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he

¹ The Prince had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as a journal of the period records: "Paris.—We have not much of newes here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee woulde needes coole himselfe in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his blackmores escaped. His Highnesse (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands; since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a fever, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."

² There were also other difficulties respecting the prizes the French Court at this period, or at least Mazarin, being so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that an arrest was even permitted to be made upon them. Indeed all the affaires connected with these prizes were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 177. The shabby conduct of Mazarin—surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes—in these matters, may be further seen by reference to *Clarendon's History*, vol. iii. pp. 405-6, where Melleray is also spoken of with justly merited severity.

takes the best way he can to recover his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions: Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe: My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10th and 15th. and you are to vse his Ma^{ty} name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Ma^{ty} hath referred the matter to him) to mediate for fauour to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole: God blesse me from your ffrench Governours: Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last: nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am,

S^r,
your affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
E. H.

PARIS this 2^d. of Aug. (1653).

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soon as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice¹

¹ From this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it would seem as if some report now prevailed that a Royalist of that name, who was supposed to have been (and in fact was) put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and remained in Ireland. This Morrice had in the latter year got possession of Pomfret Castle, and held it some time for the King, till it was besieged and taken by Lambert. Morrice, who was excepted from the terms of surrender, managed to make his escape at the time; but he was afterwards seized and executed at Lancaster, as Whitelock tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is a curious episode of the civil war, and sufficiently brief to be worth repeating here:

A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel; but being a free speaker, and living licentious, he was left

was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you: I told you in my last, that it is too manifest, that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that there is nothinge to be

out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went, and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so cheerful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never easy without him; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate everything to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dexterous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse: but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors, finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped; in another sally two more got away; and when the six days were expired and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

The subjoined notices are from Whitelocke's *Memorials*:

April, 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise.¹

Aug., 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston, for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief.²

Before the end of the month Morrice was executed.³ It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.

¹ P. 382.

² P. 405.

³ P. 407.

done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I cann add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr: of Condé¹ wher they tooke many prisoners and some officers of eminent quality: The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstandinge which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro: of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumption. Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commyssions which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them: howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue pennyfro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am,

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

E. H.

PARIS this 19. of Aug. 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

¹ The conduct of the Condéan army at this period was of a most discreditable kind, if we are to believe the following statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August, 1653, in the *Faithful Scout*. "The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshall Turenne to fight; but he declines; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes."

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 15. of Octo: but nether know nor can imagyne¹ the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it proceedes from some such cause as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me: and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I heare nothinge of Choquez, and what his undertakinge is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew anything of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes; but if you give me no cause to move publicuely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it, and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will put in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last: and proposes to goe backe thither agayne tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done: I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration: and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroad, wher ther is little care of

¹ Though Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense it shows, and indeed his general conduct in exile, where we have neither to mark the listless apathy which deadens enterprise, nor the hasty enthusiasm which mars it, admirably justify that place in Charles's councils which his talents and services continued to secure to him, notwithstanding many counter intrigues.

honour, or any thinge but therowne present conveniences. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the greate pryze, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to knowe what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as you please; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I referr it wholly to you, and am very heartily,

S^r,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

E: H.

PARIS this 26; of Oct: (1653).

S^r Ri. Browne.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right Hon^{ble},

With humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octob^r I can now give your Hon^r this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses, payed the Mar^t fifteen thousand livres, and by this meanes obtained *mainlevée* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and consequently gotten them all into his hands. By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Mar^t allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains voluntary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Ma^{ty} hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to Mr. Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Ma^y, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court.¹

Soe praysinge God for his Ma^{ties} happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same.

NANTES first No^r 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1. and the 4. of this month together, & this day gave the Bill of Exchange to Mr. Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris, but no men'con of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be M^r. Killigrews owne wyne, so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Ma^y and my LL^{ds} with that parte of your letter, and my L^d Chamberlyne will enquire after it: You cannot imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindness to me; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complied with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and iealous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealinge.²

¹ The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shows how fit he was for a courtier, even upon the smallest scale; though his worldly prudence in trusting Killigrew with the wine may be open to some doubt. It will be observed in the next letter, that suspicions of Killigrew, by no means surprising, appear to have occurred to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² It has already been hinted that Sir Richard Browne had

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a loser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us: I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who over apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodities were not of a huge value: God preserve me from such governours.—Wee are yett in the country, which the Kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously: But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris: and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

CHANTILLY this 10: of Novemb: (1653.)

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right Hon^{ble},

I have here received your Hon^{rs} of the 10th Nov. for which I sende humble thankes, as bringinge with it the assurance of my standinge upright in your opinion: your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferinges. I humbly submitt the adjoyned for your management: yf you approve not theroff, and had rather many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the Court sycophants opposed to them. See Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.

which I will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can: I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW: HYDE.

PARIS this 24 of *Novemb*: (1653.)
S^r Ri: Browne.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right hon.

Mons^r de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Mars^l de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the fleete which hee had seased, and for *mdinlevée* wheroff hee had receaved 15000 livres. Wheruppon this gentleman came hither to demand his right, & after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeelded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causeing my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containinge an intimation of something of complaint against (as they call itt) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myselfe whether it will be fitt for mee to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myselfe to the Mar and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckoninge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government; at least not untill I have your Hon^{rs} sence heruppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe me, sending y^r letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of M^r Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thanks to your Hon^r for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us; and preserve his Ma^{ties} sacred person, and vouchsaf him a speedy establishment uppon the throne of his Royal progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily,
y^r Hon^{rs}, &c.

NANTES 29 No^r 1653.

The same to the same, accompanying the preceding letter.

Right Hon^{ble}

I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and stayes only to see performance. Meane time S^r Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris, and takes along with him that commodity for your Hon^{rs} w^{ch} I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are now upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to y^r Hon^r. Yf hee uppon his maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommendation hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection in his part, how much more might wee (had not an unhandsome eclipse happened) his Ma^{ties} subjects and servants uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us? beleieve me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unprofitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Mons^r Choquere his bargaine.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued both yours of the 29. of the last, & cannot imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former letter could make you deferr your iourney, nor can I add any thinge to what I then sayd, havinge

not heard since of the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of those places much better than I can doe : I perceave by what you say of Mons. Varrennes that wee are nothing beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be without our frends helpe would not have beene able to have done us so much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from thence, and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt. doth well to quitt his old frends, and betake himselfe to new who know better how to use him. Wee heare not yett of Pr: Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he hath bene long absent. Hath S^r Ge: Lucas absolutely quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande. The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on & honour,¹ and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes : our frends in Hollande do not believe the treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to Ge: Middleton,² to transporte armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a good signe : I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is expected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 kingedomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am,

S^r,Your most affectionate Serv^t,

E. H.

PARIS this 6. of *Decemb*: (1653.)

¹ The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before the date of this letter distinguished himself at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Menchoud, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

² Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*Right Hon^{ble},

This being onely to give course to a bill of exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto Mr. William Edgman, which I haue desired Mr. Richards to inclose herin at St. Malos.

NANTES 10 Dec. 1653.

The Same to the Same.

NANTES 20 Dec. 1653.

Right Hon^{ble},

My last unto your Hon^r were of 10. Dec. with an inclosed bill, which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Dec.^r) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my seruice) to transmitt to your Hon^r a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here raysed a third since my cumminge into this province. I doe nott dessigne lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man being willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatement in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commoditis were sold (*viz.*) Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at 3*l.* 9*s.* And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can get noe better quarter. I know not why

very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent with the Highlanders and other Royalist adherents in that country.

I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany, who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of S^t Malos your Hon^r next commands will find mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Hon^r favour of the 24. Nov. & 6 Dec^r. The three first vessells of sacke are doubtlesse long since arriued by water at Orleans, there expectinge Mr. Killigrew's order, who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4th which went hence in boate the beginninge of this weeke with noble Sir. G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Hon^r to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till uery lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlin was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am uery glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Hon^r thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L^{pp}.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the bill, which was punctually payd,¹ and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very seasonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse, for I must tell you that I have not had a Lewes of my owne these 3 moneths; therfore when you send the bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Ma^{ty} shall be the disposer,—since my office hath never yett nor shall intitile me to take his mony without his derECTION.² Ther is no question any fall of moneyes is a just

¹ See *ante*, p. 290. Paper adjoined to Sir Richard Browne's letter.

² The charges to which Hyde alludes in this letter were those brought against him by intriguers of the Queen-mother's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the office which Lord Jermyn had formerly discharged, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to concoct this story of the conference with Cromwell on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather on his second-hand hearsay evidence from a maid-servant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall. Charles of course had the sense to laugh at it, being himself in fact a competent witness to prove an alibi. See Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii. p. 402. When Charles the First appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary; but after this was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France, and made great complaint to the Queen-mother, who always strongly supported his interests. After the death of Charles the First he became Secretary to the young King in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. Suspicion attached to him of having been secretly a Roman Catholic, and this is partly borne out by a legacy in his will. See Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 606.

grounde for demaunde of allowaunce upon accounte. If you are at Ducey, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he directed, and must be informed when he returns to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Cromwell, and [that you] are not sorry that my enimyes can frame no wiser calumny against me: Pr: Rupert is not yet arrayed, nor is ther any newes of the sacke: I shall be gladd to see S^r Ge: and his lady heare. Though my L^d Chamberlyne¹ and I lyue ciuilly together, and I can menc'on you to him, yet it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter to him, which if you thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am,

S^r,

your most affectionate hu^{ble} serv^t,
EDW: HYDE.

PARIS this 27 of Decemb. (1653.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebels. It is now looked upon as concluded in a peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yettreconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importu-

¹ This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards very ungraciously threw it up. The whole affair, as related in Lord Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii. p. 411, is illustrative of many of these letters.

nately and vehemently pursues: and I do believe that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the allyance,¹ for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose they wish our Master gone from hence, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resolvinge to goe as soone as he can gett away: you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capt^a as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therefore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
E. H.

PAR: this 17. of Feb. 1654.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right Hon^{ble},

Captain W^m Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched² by Col^l O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Ma^{ty} a particular account of his proceedinges hitherto, and to receiue our royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may be soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull &

¹ So certain were the politicians of that time of a treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, of the 20th January, in one of the public Intelligencers, it was expressly stated, "Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England." It did not take place so rapidly, however; for, notwithstanding Mazarin's overtures to Cromwell, the Protector showed no extraordinary eagerness to meet them. In writing to Cromwell, about this time, Mazarin concluded with, "Votre tres humble serviteur," which obtained nothing more from Oliver than "Your affectionate friend to do you service."

² There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes; the letter therefore itself supplies matter for history.

serviceable to his owne Souueraigne, in whose just quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath already donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate: I am desired to giue your Hon^r this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriual in these partes some few weekes since, with diuers persons of quality, leading men of the severall cheife provinces of Irland,¹ about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes; for transportation of which whole equipage into the south-west part of Munster, O'Sulleuans country, there to make an impression, M^r Holder and myselfe had here prevailed with M^r Griffin, Captain Smyth,² and Captain Dillon, (whose readinesse to serue his Ma^{ty} on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Ma^{ty} as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice thereof) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to haue giuen a happy beginning to this generous and loyall enterprize: offering further in case they could at ther landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with 2 or 3 peecees of canon out of each vessel: and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brien (to whom O'Sullivan chiefly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable desaigne auertinge for the present, O'Sullivan hath

¹ A *Mercurius Politicus* of the 22nd February gives expression to the hopes and fears that agitated the opposite parties at this time: "The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God! their hopes are prevented."

² How very trifling this naval force was, may be surmised from the fact that Capt. Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two.

neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduenture a kindsmā of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2. or 3. weekes to be able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelyhood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Ma^{ties} service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Ma^{ties} dominions may be thought expedient.

BREST 30 *Aprill* 1654.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,¹

The last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1 of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least unkinde purpose towards you, or doubte of your punctuallity in accounte, or opinion that you had receaued so much as people give out (yett, as you say the Duke of Yorke's officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceave may aduance his Ma^{tyes} service): but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselfe might be induced to aske; and the truth is his necessityes are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thought on to draw supply to him, and therfore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to

¹ Between this and the preceding letter there is an interval of twelve months; during which time the King and his friends, having left Paris in June, 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The reader will find a curious anecdote relating to these changes in their place of exile in Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii. p. 413, and another at p. 422.

call upon you : if you procure Bills upon any honest able marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patrick Garlande,¹ or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr betweene Crumwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall² will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubte the tyme of our deliverance is not so neere at hande as was expected. God will send it at last : you may be very confident that I will never cease to be,

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

BB: 22: Apr: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I haue receaued yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent drection to S^r Geo. Ratcliffe³ to returne the 2000^l. to him

¹ Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward Hyde.

² Mazarin personally admired Cromwell, and was therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

³ Ratcliffe, instead of Lord Byron, had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governor to the Duke of York in his infancy. He was a Privy Counsellor, and lived at Oxford during the siege, before which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or carry him to Ireland ; but this Ratcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom without an express order from the King. In the "Life of James the Second," evidently written with authority from that Prince, speaking of this affair it is remarked, "which nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebels' hands." When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary army, Fairfax

as soone as he receaues it, and I assure you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowne at Paris. I doubte Mr. Crumwell hath putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke¹ and Ostende muy prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say, upon closinge with ffrance, the Rebells will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke euery day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyes, which is at last believed at Bruxells; wher they finde how they haue beene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge beene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so: I hope I may live to see better dayes: I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer: God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from

Sr,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

COLL: *this 8 of June* (1655).

Sr Ri: Browne.

ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known; and he was only discharged from his attendance on the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of his early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over James, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in caring for the Duke's interests, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. See Clarendon's *Life*, p. 124.

¹ Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers; and in 1650 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish minister, in the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 276.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

Though it be now many moneths since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I receaved the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarried: I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaved, but not till within these 3 dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Ma^{ty} would haue you giue a deputac'on to Mons^r Marces¹ to collecte and receave the dutyes dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaved the summ of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receave them this way: I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Ma^{ty} to him, therfore I pray (if my former letter miscarried) lett him know that you haue receaved such derections, and lett him have a proper instrument accordingly. I doubte it will be very longe before he will out of those portes receave that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denyed, his Ma^{ty} lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to looke for better tyme; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terrour the Kinge of Sweade² gives them by his inroade into Poland, wher he carryes all before him, proove of no small præiudice to our master,

¹ *Vide* p. 308.

² Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

who is therby much disappointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer than you haue knowen us at Paris : yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death : which I doubt is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private at ffrankeforte,¹ from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes : the Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the towne, wher shee stayes not, but lodges this night at Bone, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church, he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply,

S^r,

Your very affectionate humble serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

CULLEN this 28 of *Sept.* (1655.)

S^r Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I

¹ This journey to Frankfort has been already noticed. It excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent: for, in one of the papers of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed treaty with Cromwell, "In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, and bring her all news from Frankfort fair; what further end there may be in the voyage is not known."

conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose ; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Crumwell and ffrence be published, which I doubt it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any preiudice or even violence offred to them to oblige Mr. Crumwell. If this falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous, and dextrous, to oblige the seamen to continue ther affection to his Ma^{ty}s service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubt we shall prepare a better recepcon for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest,¹ and *your owne particular will not be neglected*: I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subiecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advises to me as soone as may be, as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, having very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be:² God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

CULL: this 9 of November (1655).

S^r Ri. Browne.

¹ The facts here mentioned are of importance to the naval historian, should he desire to illustrate a period of which very little, at least with regard to the part of the service which remained attached to the King, has yet been recorded.

² It took five years more to make these hopes and anticipations real.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r

Since my last to you, which was of the 9. of this moneth, I have receaved yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 8 8^{ber}, which it may be ought to be of this moneth: you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubt is now at an end by virtue of this peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for: and if ther had been any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of York as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highn^s pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinkes fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disaduantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespectes of many heare towards his Highn^s. Therefore you should adiust all those thinges with his ministers, before any thinge be moued to come from hence: But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payment of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders,¹ which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not

¹ The necessity of this step was rendered imperative by the second article of the new treaty between Cromwell and the French Court providing against any aid to the *enemies* of

be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Crumwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall alwayes be ready to serue you, as,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

CULL: this 23. of *Novemb*: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

The Kinge is so desyrus to pay Moun^r de Marces some parte of the debt that is dew to him,¹ that understandinge that ther is dew to his Ma^v frome a frende of his the sayd Mo^r de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another twoo hundred livres, both which summes are payable to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Ma^v: since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, his Ma^v's pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. & 200^{li}s and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hoth a very good opinion of Mo^r de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of,

S^r,

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

COLL. this 15. of *ffebb*. 1656.

either; and also "that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers*" —terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruizers.

¹ See *ante*, p. 304. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay a particular debt makes one wish to ascertain its cause. Unfortunately there is no means of satisfying so reasonable a curiosity.

CULLEN this 29. of *febr.* (1656).

Sr,

I haue yours of the 31. of January which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantastical and humorous, that till wee can exercize such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little we haue to do with them. In Spayne I heare they haue sent up an agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice; and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty: But I doubt not; when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose: those ffrygates which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Ma^{ty}s seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause: you shall do well to encourage Capt: Smith¹ and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue prooued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most crying and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident

¹ Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals. "Letters come from Plymouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the Sapphire frigate. It bears the name of a Brest man-of-warr, new built, of 30 guns. He was met with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart."

at Bruxells is not able to doe, but is euery day in daunger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any aduantage you haue reaped : I wish it greater with all my heart, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my credit ; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replies that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently averr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquire how much hath bene payd to his vse. Therefore as soone as you can, send me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Ma^{ty} in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as,

S^r, Your most affectionate serv^t,
EDW: HYDE.

Sir Ri. Browne.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the
Exchequer.*

Right Hon^{ble}

I returned hither on Sunday night ; and Munday morninge M^r Locker¹ from M^r Crumwel came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemme audience of K. Q. and Card^l. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyreinge a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yett it is believed hee will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vpon him the title of Ambass^r : Monsieur le Comte de Briene² sayd thus much to 668 : 192 : 95 ; whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *If this should cause any alteration in his*

¹ Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarin. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. See the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 547.

² The French Secretary of State.

Ma^{ties} intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con*), I beseech your Hon^r to giue me timely notice : that yf I remoue, I may dismiss my house and forbear to make a new household : and I pray your Hon^r to giue mee instructions how to carray my selfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Ma^{ties} Minister or not ? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

PARIS 19th May 1656.

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by misfortune I could nott kisse y^e hands of your faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19. that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerning your selfe, and in some former, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceaue may be by the end of the next weeke : nothing being possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on we are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells to-morrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-Juan,¹ nothings being to be publicly declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Enuoy fro' Spayne, but we haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendshipp and neighborwoode with 668 : 192 : 95 : who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does : when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubte

¹ Don John of Austria; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his *History*, vol. iii. p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.

not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euesy weeke, and shall not neede to put you in minde not to omitt to write constantly to M^r Secretary:¹ I shall be gladd to know how your frends do in Englande, who I doubt not continue ther kindnesse to you: If nothinge be done by the ffrench Courte to discountenance you, you will not putt off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order. I pray informe your selfe who of either Nac'on performe most respects to M^r Lockyer. I wish you all happinesse, & am uery heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

ANTWERPE this 26: *May* (1656).

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy² is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that affayre, nor can I imagyne what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them. I heare the Life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse, I wish you could send it to me.³

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*⁴

Right Hon^{ble},

I did not vntill now know of your Hon^{rs} beinge

¹ Sir Edward Nicholas.

² See *post*, p. 315.

³ The Cardinal seems to have been reckoned a conjuror or prophet by some folks at this period. One of the London newspapers called the *French Intelligencer* says, "There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richelieu at Paris, written by his own hand, wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the family of Stuarts, descending from *the Lyon*, that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, in the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestic divisions," &c.

⁴ Though without signature or address, this letter is evidently from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

in personall attendance on his Ma^y. This ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station: for which I humbly crave your Hon^r pardon.

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remaines yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Marl^l: de Turene had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place: yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

M^r Locker, M^r Crumwells Envoye, followes the Court: before his going hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere long produce, a Commission to be Ambassador; notwithstandinge that I haue publicquely (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the least intimation to retire:¹ And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long as his Ma^y thought good: soe that I expect to heare what his Ma^{ties} pleasure will bee, in this particular: forbearinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family: humbly intreating your Hon^r, that yf his Ma^y thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subsistence uppon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolved in Crumwells interests, he hauinge

¹ The temporising policy of the French Court, still unwilling openly to concede all that Cromwell demanded, yet fearful to offend the Protector by abrupt dismissal of his Envoy, appears in these allusions.

dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of their preiudges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlesse bee, their hauinge since Lockers arriual effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the English Ambassad^r at Charanton, and left only "*pour les Ambassad^r de la Grand Bretagne.*"

*Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Epigraphen.*

And in their discourse uppon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Cromwells banners.¹

I humbly beseech your Hon^r to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you
Soe praying for &c.

PARIS 2nd June 1656.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all opportunityes, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these opportunityes:—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your

¹ Of all this private history of political chicane the French Court could not have been ignorant. In some respects it may explain the course they found it expedient to hold between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. Certainly the Protestants had no reason to wish well to Charles.

reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season.¹—God send us once a good turne, w^{ch} it may be may not be farr off: and then wee shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceave your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do believe that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee exspecte howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinal Richelieu's life be not in the presse.—I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

S^r,

your most affectionate Serv^t,

E. H.

BRUGES this 7 of *July* (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

BRUGES this 11. of *Aug.* (1656.)

S^r,

It is uery true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my L^d of Bristolls arriuall,² to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last:

¹ See *ante*, p. 312.

² The hopes and designs of the Royal partisans, now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and seeing happy omens for themselves in the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security, account for the tone and manner of this letter. Soon after its date Lord Bristol was left as the King's Agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 308—10.

and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on: yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherein I perceive he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it: Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be praeliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therefore you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that imployment, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Queene or my L^a Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it: I am of your opinion in the matter of Mon^r Lyon, nor can I discover the least footesteppe of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mo^r Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heere, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little fruites of it: trust me, so farr, as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as,

S^r,

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

Hauinge replied as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this tyme (when I have very much to do)

acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaved a letter from Mr. Bourdon, whom I well knew at my beinge at S^t Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, ther is a seconde order, that excepts all those that can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Ma^{ty}, and therefore he hath desyred such a certificate, having as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid: I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceive may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux.¹

We exspecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker: I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily,

S^r,

Your most affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

BRUGES this 18. of Aug: (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

BRUGES this 25. of Aug. (1656).

S^r,²

I have yours of the 18. and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic^{on} wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy

¹ This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

² The hopes of the Royal partisans were now reviving rapidly, as the whole tenor of this letter makes clear.

satisfaction in it, as they wish ; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted ; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and S^r Ri: Browne stay ther with more respecte : ther is one thinge no doubtte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubtte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that wee may reasonably hope that wee shall all have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able : nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new parliam^t that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherryes at Deptforde* agayne.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from S^t Sebastians, which I præsume you receaved and have sent forwarde. I do believe ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therefore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to S^r H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe : S^r H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3^d. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am

S^r,
Your most affectionate Serv^t,
E. H.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.*S^r,

I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my comminge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I knew not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this army to make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle,¹ makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negotiac'ons then I belieue otherwise it would haue prooved; howeuer I hope sometyme the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resoluc'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall² will finde wee can be as angry as hee, and with more reason: I will enquire of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as strict an eye upon the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can: and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz³ which is an intriegue I do not understande: you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly

¹ An allusion to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

² Mazarin.

³ De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarin, and also of Condé, playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought against Charles, as the mere creature of Cardinal Mazarin. We quote the *Mercurius Politicus* of July 1, 1652: "In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaied their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorraine to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes."

gett this tyme to write at all: and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both: God send us good newes fro' England, which is exspected by

S^r,

Your very affectionate Serv^t,
EDW. HYDE.

ANTWERPE this 29: Sept: (1656).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I had not tyme the last post to acknowledge yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your to reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all dispatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible exspectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resolute (God willing) to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now aboue a fortnight: Wee are willing to belieue that these seasonable raynes will dispose both armyes to enter into ther winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better: Ther is a discourse of the Marq: of H court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe: you menc'n your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old friend the Holl: Ambassadour,¹ I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us:

¹ Mynheer Borell, before referred to.

I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro'

S^r,

Your most affectionate Serv^t,

EDW: HYDE.

ANTWERPE this 13. of *Octob*: (1656.)

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the greate ciuillity you expresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you by all the seruices I can doe: it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any præferment¹ with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former: I hope the tyme is not far of, that God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue abundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will: myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am,

S^r,

Your most affectionate Serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

BRV: this 5. of *ffeb*: 1658.

Sir Ri. Browne.

¹ An allusion to his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by Lord Keeper Sir Edward Herbert. Curious anecdotes respecting its surrender may be found in Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 411, 412. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious misunderstanding had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.¹*S^r,

I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very well that the good Secretary² informes you of all things that passe here : But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned : and iustice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can : and though you are not in your publique capacity, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and therevpon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague³ on the poore mans behalfe : and I cannot but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but y^t the man may be sett at liberty ; and if it be possible, with some reparation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectuell, that there would have beene no record left of it : nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume y^e Duke of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation ; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire

¹ This letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.

² Sir Edward Nicholas.

³ After diligent search it has been found impossible to ascertain to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 547.

you upon perusall of his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may bee sent, as are necessary; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation: and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfavourable towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you all happiness, and am,

S^r,

your very affectionate serv^t,

EDW. HYDE.

BRUX: 16th August 1659.

If S^r George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do all the good offices he can in this affayre.

A

SELECTION FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

SELECTION FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

The subjoined extracts are taken exclusively from the letters and papers of Sir Richard Browne, Evelyn's father-in-law, of whom such frequent mention is made in the *Diary* and *Correspondence* now brought to a close. They will be found to refer chiefly to matters strictly historical, having been selected for the occasional new facts they contribute to that series of remarkable events which form the subjects of the various correspondences contained in this volume. They require little illustration, beyond what has incidentally been supplied in notes already given. The first paper contains instructions for Browne's special embassy to Holland; but, with this exception, all the extracts given relate to his official residence in Paris, in the interval between 1642 and 1651. What followed the latter year has been the subject of the correspondence just given between himself and Clarendon. If the reader refers to the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 288, he will observe that it was shortly after the date when the last of these letters was written, the result of the fight of Worcester having put a decided close to all further Royalist effort for the time, that Sir Richard Browne sent his son-in-law Evelyn over to "compound with the soldiers," and take possession of Sir Richard's seat at Sayes Court, Deptford, with a view to permanent residence, "there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the rebels' hands." Shortly after Evelyn had so left Paris, at which his young wife was to remain, with her father, till Sayes Court should be prepared for her reception, Sir Richard Browne had to communicate a piece of news of much domestic interest to his son-in-law, and his notes on the occasion may be given here not inappropriately, whether as specimens of Sir Richard's more intimate and friendly manner of writing, or as connected very closely with the family story of the Evelyns. The first is dated from Paris, on the 11th of May, 1652. "Dear Son,—Dick Hoare hath formerly given you notice of the safety of your lost half, or half lost Ben: Johnson, and will also tell you by what good fortune I have (paying the half-pistole) got possession of your letter post. I am now to acquaint you, that your wife

will (God blessing her with safety) bring you a depositum you left behind you here, of far greater value, viz. a *Hans is Kelda*, a young cavalier, who hath within these few days unexpectedly discovered his vivacity, and plainly manifests his intention within few months to come forth, and be a citizen of this world. This (though yet a secret here) is so real a certainty, that I exceedingly joy to give you this first notice thereof. And if grandfathers love more tenderly their remote offspring, you will not I hope envy me my share in the great contentment, who so passionately wish you and yours all happiness, under God's eternal, and the temporary blessing of your ever dearly loving father, to serve you, RICHARD BROWNE." —The second is dated three days later, and addressed "My son Evelyne." Thus it runs: "Dear Son,—Lest what I sent you by the last post should by accident have gone astray, I now repeat what much concerns you to know, that you may, as soon as may be, participate our joy, the nature whereof is to be diffusive. Your wife, by being since your departure so free from nausea's and other ordinary indications of child-bearing, hath so deceived us that, until very lately, we scarce other ways than in wishes thought of so great a blessing; of the certainty whereof there is now no doubt to be made, though as yet it be here so much a secret, that none but my wife and I and your maid do know it. God accomplish prosperously this his mercy, to his glory, your comfort, and the singular contentment of your dearly loving father to serve you, RICHARD BROWNE."

*Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant
Richard Browne, Clerke of our Privy Councell
&c. (in 1640).*

Charles R.

Hauing occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to prouide you wth the Instructions following:

You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew,¹

¹ The Elector Palatine had been in England before this date, and was then elected Knight of the Garter. In consequence of the present negotiation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Charles the First may already have suspected the young Prince of the design which he afterwards did not scruple to carry into effect by joining the party arrayed against his uncle.

(wee being informed he hath a desire to passe over into these partes) how inconuenient it would be for our seruice if att present he should undertake the journey, and that wthall, it can noe ways aduantage his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper w^{ch} S^r Richard Cave¹ hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselke impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in the present Treaty we are resolu'd to endeaour y^e interest of him, and the House Palatene, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harcken to this Alliance wth the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall asseurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chaunce to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance or otherwayes, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage² intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away: Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and all reall friendship betweene

¹ This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave; he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

² The marriage took place on the 2nd of May, 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

them, and the Prince and Princesse of Orange: w^{ch} you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true and particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassad^{rs} (as our principall Secretary shall informe you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of y^e Confederation, in the latter of which, we are resolved (as aforesaid) to take a special care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuerthelessse hauing been pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue so farre giuen our assent thereunto as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto S^r William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all things that may concerne our seruice, and you are wth him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices wth them for the endeauouring & setling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires: Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall y^e 23th of Febr: 1640.

(Signed)

H. VANE.

Indorsed,

"His Ma^{ties} Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641."

Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne, Esq. one of the Clerkes of our Priuy Councell, and our Agent wth our good brother the most Christian King: (in 1641).

CHARLES R.

Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin the Earle of Leycester,¹

¹ Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.

our extraord^r Ambassad^r with our good brother the French King, in the gouernmen^t of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to that end being now to recall him from his employment in France: Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choice of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided wth the Instructions following:

First vpon your arriual in that kingdome, you shall addresse yo^rselfe vnto our said Ambassad^r extraord^r for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall deliuer yo^r l^res of Credence, and impart your charge:

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendshipp and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To w^{ch} end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, We haue now, vpon the comming away of our Ambassad^r, sent you to reside there: And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Amb^r, Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yo^rselfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most freshe in practice, betweene these Crownes, being the rule by w^{ch} the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary information from our said Ambassad^r, and what businesse shalbe left in agitation by him for o^r service, you are in our

name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yo^r proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or enenimities shalbe moued wth other States openly, or vnderhand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned; and for yo^r better light and information herein, you are to keepe intelligence wth our Ambassad^{rs} and Agents wth other Princes and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our seruice, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, w^{ch} you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yo^{re} proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yo^{re} knowledge, w^{ch} may be usefull and necessary for the good of our affaires. :—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. VANE.

"Instructions for Mr. Browne."
July 23, 1641.

CHARLES R.

Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privée, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous auons a faire presentem^t touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx¹ de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633, par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier :² l'autre par

¹ This resumption in regard to the Queen's dowry was to facilitate supplies from the Continent; her Majesty at this precise period transmitting to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She had gone to Holland on the 23rd of February preceding.

² Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.



Vandyke pin.

EDWARD WESTCOTT

EARL OF PORTLAND

(B 634

Nous du 20^{me} Juin 1689 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appartiendra, que Nous desavouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouvoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le revoquons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre N're intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et notifierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire. Et pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donné sous Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a N're Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an **XIIX^{me}** de N're Regne.

A N're feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de N're Chambre Privée, Sec're en N're Conseil d'Estat & Privé, et N're Resid^t en France. 1642.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloued Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland¹ hath bin very lately sent in y^e name of both Houses of Parliam^t heere with credentials to treat with o^r Allyes the States G'rall of the Vnited Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience w^{ch} hath bin committed against o^r Royall person & dignity; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilest there was anyshew of reverence of o^r knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier,² or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com'and you to use y^e

¹ Strickland was afterwards a member of the House of Commons, and strenuous in the affair of the "Self-denying Ordinance."

² Augier had formerly been engaged in the diplomatic negotiations on the Continent with regard to the Elector Palatine.

best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publicly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoever craving the same of o^r Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party, o^r Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre owne hand. And if, notwithstanding, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in O^r Name solemnely protest there against the highest violacon of theire Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against w^{ch} Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by God's assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all w^{ch} as these o^r Letters shalbe y^r sufficient Warrant & Proteccon, So we shall expect hereof yo^r faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at o^r Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septemb^r in the Eighteenth yeare of o^r Reigne 1642.

"To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.
Our Resid^t with o^r Brother the French King."

Indorsed,

"From his Ma^{ty} 20th day of *Sept^r* 1642."¹

CHARLES R.

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeve that before this Letter the Capucins² of Somersett house, or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeased that soe high an affront hath

¹ This letter was written a month after the King had raised his standard at Nottingham.

² An allusion to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Popish attendants. So strong was the feeling on this subject, that the King, unable to resist it, was under the necessity of conceding to Parliament their demands that he should by royal proclamation require all statutes concerning Popish recusants to be put in execution, that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and that all Romish priests should be ordered to depart the Kingdom in twenty days.

been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion w^{ch} goes big with confusion & destrucion to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights. Wee wilbe cleere of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacons against Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge w^{ch} God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yo^r addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satisfacon & the discharge of Our conscience & affeccion to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Giuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Oure Reigne.

1643.

"To our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne,
our resident with our deere Brother the French King."
From his Ma^{tie} 5th April, 1643.

The extracts which now follow are from letters written by Sir RICHARD BROWNE whilst Ambassador at Paris. They generally, but not always, indicate to whom they were addressed; but the topics sufficiently explain themselves. In a few instances, a general abstract of the subject of the letter precedes the particular extract given.

21 Oct. 1642.

Rich^d Browne, Esq; Ambass^r at Paris writes to S^r Edw^d Nicholas, Secretary of State—That by his Ma^{ty}s late speech at Shrewsbury & by other advices, he heares the possibility of a thing w^{ch} he hopes will never come to pass, that his Ma^{ty} will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands: that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Ma^{ty}s hand for the special service of his household, for w^{ch} being so near London, there may in these intruding times,

be persons ready to deale : he beseeches S^r Edw. to move his Ma^{ty} that they may not be sold, but if (w^{ch} God defend) his Ma^{ty} sho^d have just cause to part from them, that he wo^d let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres ; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

7 Nov. 1642.

That [in cypher] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, w^{ch} they send away for Ireland ; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Ma^{ty}'s express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavour any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirel is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Belinge (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the same.

9-19 Nov. 1642.

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsells of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Ma^{ty}—excused and asked pardon for his complyinge : bad mee assure his Ma^{ty} he would henceforward do all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Ma^{ty}.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is

not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in governm^t then yf not sooner.

To the same.

13-23 Jan. 1642-3.

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe already serve or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,

Colonel Douglas his foot Reg ^t	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Reg ^t of Guard consisting of 30 companies	4500
My Lord Gray one Reg ^t of foote	1000
My Lord Lundy one Reg ^t of foote	1000
Colonel Fullerton one Reg ^t of foote	1000
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have auncient company of Gens d'Armes	100
	<hr/>
	9600
	<hr/>

Of these, already here

Coll. Douglas Reg ^t	1000
The Earl of Erwins	2000
Coll. Fullerton's	500
	<hr/>
	3500
	<hr/>

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scotland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great quality in Scotland, bearinge the Earl of Laudian's speedy comminge over hither with his Ma^{ty}'s leave to treat the renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns of Scotland and France; uppon which Treaty many particular interests depend, as, the reestablisshinge the Marquis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq. Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Mons^r de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a

new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profit and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Ma^{ties} leave, and that his Ma^{ty} doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is dessigned, he shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegiance to his lawfull Soveraigne as to accept theroff.

I beseech y^r Hon^r lett me receive y^r orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Mons^r de la Ferte Imbaull is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I have by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere¹ in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what heighth hee can, and depresseth his Ma^{ties} causelessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

To the same.

11-21 March, 1642-3.

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster.—— The Earle of Laudian with S^r T. Dishington sollicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambass^r into England, to treat of an accommodation, by order as is presumed of the Parl^t in England, and Mr. Fert Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

To the same.

2-12 June, 1643

By the letters I recommended to Mr. de Gressy's safe delivery, your Hon^r will have understood in

¹ In this part of the original, the words "my lord of Holland" are scratched through with a pen.

what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them, or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise give y^r Hon^r notice of S^r Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes, and Ministers, taking much uppon him, and using his Ma^{ties} name how hee pleases uppon all occasions, not onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Ma^{ty} to condole about other business of great consequence.—I shall be glad to know what y^r Hon^r thinkes of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Ma^{ties} pleasure to have a pretended Ambassad^r where he hath allready an avowed Resident.

The Elector Palatine to Mr. Browne.

Sir,

Y^r of the 1st past, brought along wth it soe good effects of y^r endeavours in my affaires, as that besides y^r owne assurances & my Resid^t Pawls constant testimonie of y^r assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearely confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand att this time much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thank you also for y^r good advertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by y^r last concerning Mad^{lle} de Rohan,¹ the care w^{ch} the King my gracious

¹ This lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Huguenot party in France; and

Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service.
And soe desiring the continuance of yo^r good offices
in w^ht still further concerne the good of my interests,
I assure you that I shall euer remaine

Y^r most affectionnate frend,

CHARLES.

HAGHE the 7th of Sept: 1643.

• "For Mr. Browne,¹ Resid^t to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris."

Indorsed,

From Pr: El: Palatine 7: Sept. 1643.

Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Nicholas.

8 Sept. 1643.

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated
with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to
the findinge out and sendinge this summe) hee know-
inge my case, of himselfe offered mee to move 335 .
501 . to reserve here what part I would towards pay-
ment of my entertainment until they received his
Ma^{ties} order to put it into my hands, but I replied

who signalised himself in the affairs at Rochelle and the Isle du Rhé. In Hardwicke's *State Papers* there is a letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. See Hardwicke's *State Papers*, pp. 34—38. It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan: and in the Harleian Collection there is a letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match. The Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, the writer of the letter in the text, returned soon after its date into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His brothers were constant to the Royal cause; but he took part with the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines. The truth was, that, being the next heir to the English Crown in case the family of Charles the First were set aside, a section of the popular leaders had undoubtedly cast their thoughts towards him as a means by which some settlement might be effected similar to that which was made with the Prince of Orange between forty and fifty years later; and there can be as little doubt that the young Elector, who had nothing amiable or generous in his disposition, and who felt bitterly his dependence on his royal uncle's generosity and charity, caught greedily at the bait held out.

¹ Afterwards Sir Richard.

that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Ma^{ty}. Here is a very consider-

and ammunition !

able quantity of 259 . 82 : 91 . 83 . sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Ma^{ty} and to y^r Hon^r.—prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

To the same.

3 Sept. 1643.

— the welcome newes of 20,000*l.* sterling which this good Queene sends to their Ma^{ties} by her Ambass^r.—They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho' his necessities were great, as he wo^d not intercept any supply sent to his Ma^{ty}.

Much arms & ammunition sent—lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms—35,000 only expended—prays the other part may be ordered for him.

To the same.

10-20 Nov. 1643.

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Card^l Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, but governed by Mons^r de Chavigny; this last beinge by this meanes though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicitly I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England.—Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my L^d V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishinge his Ma^{ty} with armes & ammunition, &c.

¹ The words "and ammunition" are struck though with a pen in the original.

To Lord Digby.

6 Jan. 1644.

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a merch^t put aboard his Ma^{ty}s 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, and those words left out: w^{ch} among many other things I have observed, makes me think those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

To the same.

25 March, 1644.

I have received your L^{ps} letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Ma^{ty}s gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett; as y^r Lo^p has happily joyned these two together, soe I humbly beseech . . . they may not be separate butt for mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend y^r Lo^{ps} commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford—within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulness more at large.

I humbly beseech yo^r L^p to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Ma^{ty}.

To Lord Jermyn.

3-13 June, 1644.

Y^r Lo^p hath obtained from his Ma^{ty} a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois p^r an.' If yo^r Lo^p should not already have made sure thereof, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions

may interfere with this of yo^r Lo^{ps}; for three days since his Agent here signified his Ma^{ty}s order to mee for payment to him of 25^m livres and returning from him the diamond; which sume not being to bee had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make a demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they bee made over to him in that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, he will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaininge part of the arreares.

To Lord Digby.

June, 1644.

The inclosed arret will lett yo^r L^p see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Ma^{ties} portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of His Ma^{ties}. The rents or perpetuity tenn yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands uppon the best terms I could; for to say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have thus regorged them to their true owner his Ma^{ty}. Of the tenn yeares arreares of 2822 livres p^r an. there are little above seaven at present to bee found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed), which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account), so that to his Ma^{ties} profit there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares. These rents stand his Mat^{ty} in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not

now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

To Lord Digby.

7-17 June, 1644.

Writes earnestly for money—inevitable ruin must befall him—has not wherewithall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, w^{ch} will much tend to his Ma^{ties} disreputation—"I appeal to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Ma^{ties} honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp comeing uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid."

To Lord Jermyn.

Right Hon^{ble} my singular good Lord.

Accordinge to y^r Lo^ps command to send you the English newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr. Besse's departure: What London affords this inclosed printed will acquaint y^r Lo^p. Besides which the letters containe little or nothings, onely some hopes of misunderstandinge and diuisions amonge the Parliamentary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: High: hee thought was by this time in London: and to declare the cause of his iourney thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages he might reape to himselfe from his Ma^{ty} and Parl: according to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on; & partly to sollicite some supplies of money for y^e Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Ma^{ties}. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to y^r.

Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Ma^y.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare be true, will visit his Ma^y ere long at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg, I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, and then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble seruice to y^r Lo^p. and giue assurance of my diligent endeauours to obey y^r commands. Beseeching y^r Lo^p to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you: Many haue already passed by and pitied his condition; butt y^r Lo^p is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse y^r Lop^s hands in quality off,

Y^r Lo^{ps},

Most faithfull humble Ser^t,

RICHARD BROWNE.

PARIS 19 Aug. 1644.

S^r,

After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parliament, the Queene Regent vppon Tewsday last signified to the Parlam^t that being well informed of their good intenc'ons and sincerity, she approued of their proceedings, willinge them to meet frequently and to continew dilligently their consultations for the publique good; wthall acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vppon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bring their resolutions to maturity wthin the space of 8 dayes: since w^{ch} satisfactory answeere the Parliament is uery busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouernement chiefly in that of the Kings reuenews, in which worke the rest of the Parlements of france will doubtlesse comply wth this of Paris. And some

great Ministers may perhaps be sacrificed to the people, who have already confessed their feares by dis-furnishinge theire houses of their choicest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé wth mony, and heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualliers; the Prince is wth his army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauing drawne great pensions from them any time this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffeet consistinge of 13 shippes and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vppon the coast of Naples, but as yet wthout any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee) I render you my hearty acknowledgements, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince being disappointed of the somme of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine than hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Ma^{ties} Priuie Councillors in France haue orders to attend his High^{nes} at Callice: my Lord Treasurer, Lord Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country: where I hope you injoy yourselues, and amongst other diuertisments with that of hay-makinge, the season for which now approaches; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farewell, D. S.

Yours for euer.

PARIS 4. *July* 1648.

From Sir Ric: Browne.

S^r,

I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notwthstandinge that the exiled members of the Parlament be restored; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Prouinces bee resolved (three onely excepted) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where theire employment is restraned onely to the affaires of the armies and that y^e Queene hath condescended to y^e erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, w^{ch} is to consist of a selected number of Parlament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselves: yet it will be a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge y^e arrears of the Tailles of y^e yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge of the 8th part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49; about the regulating the impositions vppon the entry of merchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by which the rents vppon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoeuer almost hath passed wthout the verificac'on of the Parlament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogeather compliant wth the Court of Parlament, hauing lately by their arrest cashiered an arrest of Parlament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parlament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there amongst whome the S^r Boulanger, Conc^r. in the first Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalf of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of money, fell downe dead in the House, wherevppon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolued, and the people conclude this

blow to bee a judgment of God vppon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Marsⁿ de Gramont is come hither, whose privat businesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parlament to acquainte them wth the necessityes of the army, and to demand supplyes of them, seeing all other meanes of raysinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes or threats dispose the partizans to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrench ffeet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vppon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germans. My Lord Marq^s of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my L^d Marq^s of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge.

Yours euer to loue and serue you.

PARIS, 18 *July* 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

S^r,

The businesse of the Parlament this weeke hath been to deliberate vppon, and examine the declaration w^{ch} the King brought them, hauinge appointed fower of their members to make report thereof vppon the 16th of this moneth; in the mean tyme they make great difficulty to obey that part thereof, wherein the Kinge com'andes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis; and this notwthstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes beene wth them to maintaine the King's authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of their obedience; so that, by what yet appears, the Parlam^t yf they meete not

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EDWARD SOMERSET,

MARQUIS OF WORCESTER

OB. 1667.

in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe their businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house; for that is certaine, that some other Parlements of France doe manifestly declare and followe their example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné¹ is encamped at Bethune, there expectinge the succors y^t Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bring to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill satisfied wth the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmuringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder: insomuch as it is thought the French fleet may therevppon make yet another journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not wthout hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vppon his departure for Irland, Wee are here, God be prayes, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my service. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf hee bee, I pray present my service to him, and soe with our relative cordiall affections, I rest

Yours euer.

PARIS, 8 Aug^r 1648.

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germain: wheere no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yet liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

¹ Note appended: "Which is lost."

S^r,

Since y^e Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parliament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parliament hath followed their ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and y^e pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated y^e Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, w^{ch} now vppon y^e joyninge of Erlack's troops vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probably wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the taking Cremona, and the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports: but aboue all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise their mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to w^{ch} the ffrench fleet hath set saile for L'Abruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued y^e rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souuray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quallity of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, w^{ch} the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not beene out of ffrence) attended wth 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevppon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Card^l Mazarin they speake of giuinge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquiss of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thankes for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome.

All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yf nott com away, & to my cousin S^r. yf arriued, present my loue and seruice, the like to all the good company with you. Farewell, my deare S.

Yours for euer louinge.

PARIS. 15 *Aug.* 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

S^r,

Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Ma^{ty}, wherein his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, witnesse the two warrants of his Ma^{tie}, dated y^e 4 Aprill 3^o Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which as I render all humble acknowledgements to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe, I giue you also my hearty thanks for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue proued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shippes belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese: And when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windham, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Ma^{ty} be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuell commands to Mr. Windam, your kinsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls

here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods out of which this summ was to bee rayseed, is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or not willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose safe arriuall with you, and returne into these parts, I should be gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealousies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6th. 7^r.) will, in probability giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, ministry, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards vs, all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Ma^{ties} affaires in schottland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new Monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Mar^l Basompeere at Challiot) of which shee is the titular foundresse; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comelienesse and personall dexterity, in his behauiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publique and priuat calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) injoy our healths, and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations, or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more fauourably vppon vs; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yett make shifte to keep vp a chappell and the English Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Ma^{ties} person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency

recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest,

Dear cousin,
Y^r most affectionate kindsman
and faithfull humble seruant,
R. Br.

PARIS, 19 Aug. 1651.

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation, in whom you find any memory of, or kindnes for, mee. Butt, faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Aug^t. Prince Rupert is arriued with his prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone, and there hee fitts his shippes with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife, is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Ma^y. with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.

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